

# SHAKESPEARE QUARTERLY

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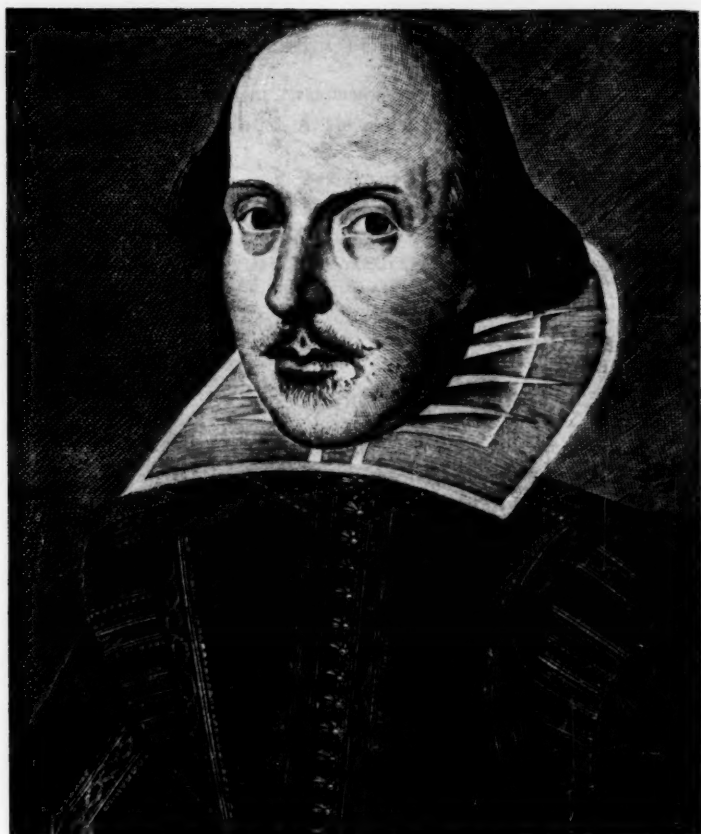
Margaret Webster

A MAN FROM STRATFORD ENTERTAINS  
 BEN JONSON, IN STRATFORD,  
 AUGUST 2, 1611  
 FOR MISTRESS ANNE SHAKESPEARE'S FUNERAL



As I have heard that you are well,  
 And that you are still in the city,  
 I have thought fit to write you a line,  
 And to let you know that I am well,  
 And that I am still in the city,  
 And that I am still in the city,  
 And that I am still in the city,  
 And that I am still in the city,  
 And that I am still in the city,

# SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, INC.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE (1564-1616)  
From the proof state of the First Folio engraving

Thomas W. Higginson  
John L. Langstaff  
Frederick Douglass  
Elizabeth Cady Stanton  
John W. Alden  
Amelia Bloomer  
William C. Bradley

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George C. La Follette  
George C. La Follette  
Elizabeth Cady Stanton



A MAN FROM STRATFORD ENTERTAINS  
BEN JONSON, IN STRATFORD,  
AUGUST 7, 1623,  
FOR MISTRESS ANNE SHAKESPEARE'S FUNERAL

By EDWIN R. HUNTER

Ah-h-h-h-ah! my Friend, this Stratford ale of yours  
Is noble stuff! It has a native tang  
And thrust about it that's like all out o' doors  
In Warwickshire. And when I think that when  
You were in London years ago, my guest,  
As now I'm yours, all I could give you then  
Was the flat insipid slop that goes for ale  
Down there, I blush, or do what tough Ben Jonson  
Does instead of blush. But all that's past,  
And here's today, and here's this Stratford brew,  
And so we drink. Ah-h-h-h-ah! that's noble stuff!  
Fill up the can.

And so I find myself  
In this same Stratford, now for the fourth time,  
And this no doubt the last. For now no more  
Are any Shakespeares left up here to draw me.  
'Twas two weeks after Lammas, that first time,  
A golden August and the time o' year  
When here beneath the spreading Warwick oaks  
Your shearing men take from their wethers yet  
A second fleece since the spring clipping time.  
And there was feast and dancing on the green,  
And country wenches in their finery,  
And here and there about the ring a lad  
Who'd left the Ducal Hunt and come to sip  
The ale—and see the wenches at their dance.

And, lo, just two years after at the Globe,  
All that, mixed with much more was there  
For all the World and London to applaud.  
There were the shearers and the shearing feast,  
With hocus-pocus out of Robert Greene  
Of Sicily and shipwreck in Bohemia.  
Ah me! but that was Will; don't blame poor Greene  
That inland seacoast. Will would never learn!  
But learn or not, in spite of all we said,

He got from nature something that the rest  
 Knew not to get. There on the living stage  
 Was, to the life, all Warwickshire in August:  
 The three-man-song-men and the autumn flowers,  
 The swaggering pickpurse with his merry tunes,  
 And all the savors of the shearers' feast,  
 The pudding thick with raisins o' the sun,  
 And the husht whispering of the servant maids.

And then again the winter of the year  
 Wherein he died, Michael and I came up  
 From London town to see our friend, grown now  
 The Country Squire, neglecting us and all  
 His London friends. We came to twit him for  
 This same neglect, and also to spy out  
 The fatness of his lands and see his beeves  
 And wethers and to taste his boasted ale.  
 And if for our ribald jests and noisy tippling,  
 And for our foul tobacco-taking ways,  
 Poor Mistress Anne rose up and drove us forth,  
 Always there was this noble Inn to turn to—  
 Ah-h-h-h-ah, that's right! Fill up once more the can.  
 Or we would wander down beside the Avon  
 Where Will and Michael knew the fish by name,  
 Or out in the bare fields whence we could see  
 Above the leafless trees the Kenilworth towers,  
 Where, Will declared, he, as a stripling boy,  
 Saw mermaids and the glittering pageantry,  
 When our late Queen was guest of the great Earl;  
 And how at night time 'gainst the Warwick sky  
 The flares and rockets flamed in a rich riot.

Or there at closer range poor Michael found  
 The lodestone of his gaze, for just outside  
 The town there rose the gracious mansion where  
 She dwelt, the worship of his youthful heart,  
 And of his manhood's sober song the theme  
 Under Idea's name—but in those curséd  
 Fourteen sonnet lines with forcéd rimes  
 Worn thin and bare by every rimester's use,  
 With still-repeated tropes of "teeth of pearl,"  
 And "eye-beams rival of the Sun," and "cheeks  
 Like damask," and "the come and go of maiden  
 Red and white." Ah me! fancy John Donne  
 Or any other with the taste for truth  
 And poetry rightly mingled in his soul,  
 Cooped up in fourteen lines and laced with rime,

Paying stale homage to a lukewarm dream.  
But there! you see I wander, for I'm old . . . .  
I mean no harm to Michael, and I bow  
With all my heart to him and his great friends  
There in that gracious manor house of theirs.

So on the last night of our stay, we came  
To this spot here to quaff our ale and try  
A little to relive, though late, the old  
Brave nights when we ar' 'honest Francis Beaumont,  
Herrick, and Fletcher, and the gracious Earl,  
Wat Raleigh, and the rest drew to the fire  
And talked and drank the night into the dawn,  
Good talk of art and wine and life, and, yea,  
Though sparingly, some talk of Death.  
Stout drinkers most of us save only Will,  
Who, if he tried to vie with us in our  
More heavy quaffings, either he got sick  
Or fell into a heavy drunken sleep.

So on that night, here at this blessed Inn—  
Ay, call the boy!—we brought to mind the past,  
And Will, who at the Mermaid oftentimes sat  
And smiled and nodded while the others talked  
And seldom had a word, found on this night  
His tongue a little, for I said, to draw  
Him out to talk, how we were growing old,  
And how the world would do his daily turn  
When we were dust, and be as cheer and gay  
When we were not as when we went a-wenching  
'Neath the moon.

“Ah, Ben,” said he, “and this  
From you, when always you're reminding me  
Of all the sage and fadeless golden past;  
What Homer said, or Maro, or your all-wise  
Stagirite, or Horace, or some other  
Timeless one. Are these, then, dust and mortal?  
True you are, we are old, but if we could  
Have left some deathless word, some living blazon  
From the quick forge and working house of thought,  
We might *be* dust yet *live a thousand years!*  
Ah, Ben, I've stood a few times just off stage  
There at the Globe, and heard Dick Burbage or  
Another read the lines I had writ down  
For someone in a play, and have forgot  
That they were mine, and, for the happy nonce  
Have felt them almost worthy, rich, and wise.

"But in these Stratford days, full of the lazy  
 Wine of country peace, with all the warm  
 And friendly chat of boyhood friends about me,  
 And at the House my good curst faithful wife  
 And those I love—Susanna and the Doctor  
 And my little Bess—resolves have come  
 To gather yet the fruitage of the years  
 And give to print what soon will be beyond  
 The gathering. For, if it is not done,  
 Then you are right; I shall be dust, and soon,  
 And only dust. But always with the resolves  
 Comes too the anodyne of drowsy age.  
 And so it will be dust. For sure, good Ben,  
 'We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and  
 Our little life is rounded with a sleep.'  
 Who was it? tell me, who? Who was it that  
 Said that? That's good, Ben, good enough  
 To live forever and it would, were it  
 Set down and kept!" And so that night talking  
 Beyond himself, he drank, too, past his wont,  
 And so it was, as you yourself have said,  
 In the cold and nipping air between the Tavern  
 And the House, he took his death.

#### Two months

Thereafter came your word, and there in London,  
 For the accurséd stone had laid me low,  
 I could not come. But two years after as  
 I journeyed North to see the Scottish country  
 Of my sires, I turned aside to Stratford.  
 You were from home they told me, but I saw  
 The church and read the lines that Will had left  
 To hold the Sexton's hard unfeeling hand  
 From digging up his bones; poor doggerel lines,  
 But just the lines to stay the hand of one  
 For whom a polished verse would never serve.

And at that time, too, up at the House  
 I sat and sipped good ale with Mistress Anne,  
 Of whom I'd always been a bit afeared.  
 For well I knew she'd marked me down for one  
 Of that rough crew who'd kept her errant man  
 Still down in London, a-leading of what life  
 Only her worst imaginings could frame.  
 Also, I think, she'd built a sort of myth—  
 God knows what she had heard—of my poor Shrew,  
 My untamed Kate, who yet had not tamed me,

Albeit she made the house too hot for comfort,  
And so it was that at the Mermaid and  
Elsewhere there were more Sons of Ben abroad  
Than were at home.

But on this day, as I  
Have said, she gave me from her heart a world  
Of fond recallings. For, it seemed, she'd waived  
Aside my roughness, and saw deep and clear  
How this side worship I had loved the man.

The business of the seven years, she said,  
By which she stood the elder of the pair  
Had never seemed to matter. At eighteen  
He had been older than the world, and she,  
Eternal woman, and, moreover, in love.  
And so it was, half mother and all wife,  
She had found their life together very good.  
There were those endless unremitting years  
When he had stayed down there in far-off London.  
She'd kept the house and brought the children up,  
Susanna and the twins. Will had to go.  
So he had said—and said. And so he went.  
What he did there she'd really hardly known:  
Something to do with plays and players, and  
Something to do, it seemed, with lords and knights—  
And ladies. "Oh," she said, "don't smile, Ben,  
For I know; we women who stay home and keep  
The house and nurse the babes, we know. We're not  
Enough to fill up a man's life—not Will's.  
So when from time to time he journeyed home,  
Still sweet and winsome as of old, I asked  
No questions, but took gratefully  
My satisfying fraction of a man.  
Oh, if he stayed ten days, I would grow curst  
And, like a shrew, would have him by the ears  
If he so much as came with uncleaned boots  
Upon my sanded floor, and then he'd go  
Back down to London for another age."

But when the boy died, so she told me,  
Will had come post haste to stand beside her,  
And to pray like the old scapegrace David  
For his son, wrestling in agony for  
The young one's life which had been all her care  
But still his pride. And 'twixt them, so she said,  
That night had wrought a bond that gripped like steel,  
And held them, spite of all, throughout the years.

I spoke to her about the children left,  
The daughters and the lovely little Beth,  
Now growing up a queen of curds and cream,  
Loved of her Grandsire and the County's pride.  
But in this widowed heart I sensed a strange  
Deep longing for her men. Daughters and grand-  
Daughters were well enough, but there was here  
A woman's heart that only men could answer.

That was five years ago, and in the sweep  
Of hurrying time it seems but yesterday,  
Yet, in my mind, it looms a richer hour  
Than many I have known. In it I had  
No sentimental tears, no witless sighs,  
No maudlin platitudes, but strong and deep  
The free confession of a simple love.  
What he had been and done she scarcely knew;  
That he was entered on a rare high scroll  
Where, if any, only two or three are higher;  
That he was poet, playwright without peer,  
Was naught to her; that through the years to come  
His fame will live and mount and fix itself  
Wherever our rough English is the fashion,  
For this she had no thought. He was her man;  
By intermittent snatches he had been  
Her own, solid and sweet and hers, and that  
Was all that mattered. That was all.

So I came here today to lay my wreath  
With others on her bier and on his too,  
For it is rare that one so rich as he  
In gifts and fame and high creative power  
Has also one who brushes all that by  
And loves and values him for himself alone.  
That, many that I know have never had;  
That, to my sorrow, I have never had.  
That's why my honor for these lucky Shakespeares  
Is of no common ordinary cut.

And now, today, the Sexton tells me that  
She begged upon her deathbed—yea, that bed  
That he had left her for her very own,  
Leaving all else about her to the love  
Of the good Doctor and his careful wife—  
Begged to be laid in the very grave  
With him she loved. And the good Sexton, sir,  
Still fearful of the spell, had, nonetheless,  
Made her a grave close by.

No, no more ale!  
Somehow these thoughts have taken me back so far  
That I must have a little time before  
My formal self and e'en my accustomed thirst  
Come back again to me. So now, no more.

Tomorrow I go down again to London.  
There will a few from the old days inquire  
Of you up here at Stratford. I'll commend you  
To such ones as you know. Stout John Heminges  
And his good friend Condell I will stir up  
To finish their design of gathering  
And printing all together in one book  
The plays of their old friend. They are about it  
And will see it through, and so our Will  
Becomes immortal—as he said. For me,  
At their request, I am about some verses—  
In couplets, you may lay—to set this work  
A-going through the world. No, no; no more!  
My thanks to you. This night I'll long remember.  
So, farewell.

*Maryville College*

*Pr.* Well, where are our disguises?

*Po.* Here, hard by, stand close.

*Fal.* Now my maisters, happie man be his dole, for I, current  
man to his butinesse.

*Enter the travellers*

*Travel.* Come neighbour, the boy shal lead our horte downe  
the hill, weele walke a foote a while and ease our legs.

*Thomes.* Stand. *Travel.* Iesus bleffe vs.

*Fal.* Strike, downe with them, cut the villaines throates, a  
horestone Caterpillers, bacon-fed knaues, they hate vs youth,  
downe with them, floece them.

*Tra.* O we are vndone, both we and ours for cuer.

*Fal.* Hang ye gorbellied knaues, are yee vndone, no ye fatte  
chuffes I woulde your flore were here: on bacons on, whi yee  
knaues yong men must liue, you are grand iurers, are ye, weele  
iure ye faith.

*Here they rob them and bind them. Exeunt.*

*Enter the Prince and Poyntes.*

*Pr.* The thecues haue bounde the true men, nowe coulde  
thou and I rob the thecues, and go merrily to London, it woulde  
be argument for a weeke, laughter for a month, and a good east  
for cuer.

*Po.* Stand close, I heare them comming.

*Enter the thecues againe.*

*Fal.* Come my maisters, let vs share and then go horse before  
day, and the prince and Poyntes bee not two grant cowards  
theres no equitie stirring theres no more valour in that Poyntes  
then in a wilde ducke.

*Pr.* Your money.

*Po.* Villaines.

*As they are sharing the prince & Poyntes  
set upon them they all runne away and*

*Fal. affraid they all runne away  
the prince & Poyntes*

*Prin.* Got with much ease. Nowe only so, yee thecues  
are al scattered, and possesse with feare for a while, that they dare  
not meete each other, each case, his life here for an officer, away  
good Ned Falstal he sweare to death, and lards the leane earth  
as he walke along, were more for laughing I should thinke him.

*Po.* How far roger road.

*Exeunt.*

*Enter*



## A RECORD OF EDWIN BOOTH'S *HAMLET*

By MURRAY W. BUNDY

**O**N January 18, 1870, Charles W. Clarke, then twenty-one, a bookkeeper and correspondent in New York, attended his first performance of Edwin Booth's *Hamlet*. We shall permit him to tell his own story:

I went away that night awestruck. . . . I felt that I had looked upon something too profound for me even to remember comprehensively; something too deep for me to understand. . . . During my walk home that night I resolved to commit the play of *Hamlet* to memory verbatim, and to make a study of its plot and characters, that I might the better understand Booth. And I determined to see Booth as often as I could.

These resolutions were not transitory impulses that could be slept off. They clung, and I executed them. I learned the play of *Hamlet* word for word from beginning to end, until I knew it so thoroughly that, any person reading off to me four consecutive words in it, I could immediately take up the matter at the end of the four words and recite with absolute accuracy to the end of the scene, act, or play as might be desired. I knew it all by heart and know it still; and though it took several weeks, after business hours and in spare times to learn it, I did not pause until every word of it was mastered; and that not in the abridged stage edition, but in the complete Cowden Clarke edition.

When he discovered that the acting version departed from the Cowden Clarke text, he bought the Booth version and memorized all of the variants. This was only the beginning of the preparations for his act of homage to both dramatist and actor. He spent much time, he wrote, "in considering the meaning of different speeches and sentences in the play, and deciding in my mind the accent which should be used in delivering them," in noting "what various sense could be imparted by the different inflections given to important words or sentences," and, with the help of criticism, in forming a theory of the play.

With this equipment he went to see Booth again. Altogether he attended eight performances. In the light of all of this, the reader is pleasantly surprised by the modesty and keen self-analysis expressed at the outset: "I do not think I am very well calculated to criticise him, because my mind is not yet mature and my observation is not wide or acute. Besides I am a vehement admirer of him and cannot speak impartially." He probably saw his last performance March 19. Shortly thereafter, he resigned his position, apparently not in robust health, visited his family in Connecticut, and in June joined a brother in Bushnell's Basin, near Rochester, planning to complete a high school education as a preparation for college. During the summer and perhaps autumn his notes, with the help of his tenacious memory, grew into what is probably the most complete account of Booth's performance in existence, and perhaps the fullest record of any Shakespearian production before the advent of the motion picture and the sound track.

It is contained in an old journal the pages of which measure  $9\frac{1}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$  inches. Only the first page and the last column are devoted to other matters. The second page contains the play bill for the "Last *Hamlet* matinee, Saturday, March 19." The remaining 211 columns, averaging 280 words, are in a minute handwriting remarkable for uniformity, grace, and legibility.

He begins his record with an account of Booth's advantages, his theater, the scenery, the audience, and the actor's qualifications for his role: intellectuality, gracefulness, melancholy, and "the parts of his person." Each scene in which Hamlet appears is then described, with remarks concerning the setting, the entrances, the costumes, and the reproduction of every line spoken by Booth with the help of many mechanical devices for marking the reading of the lines: underscoring, single, double, triple, for varying degrees of stress; sometimes a waving line; diagonal lines over or below words and syllables; and occasionally crescents, with horns up or down, for rising and falling inflections.<sup>1</sup> Thus, when Hamlet exacted the oath in Act I, "So grace and mercy at your most need help you," "grace" goes up, "and" down, "mercy" is rounded, and "help you" achieves a crescendo. There are curving hooks below the spaces between words to indicate the oral phrasing. For example, Clarke heard Booth say, "in action how-like-an angel . . . the beauty of-the-world. . . . And yet to me what-is-this quintessence of dust." In parentheses Clarke attempted to catch all that could not be indicated by these mechanical aids: gestures, postures, pronunciations, including, especially, significant vowel sounds, pitch, the texture of the voice, and inflections, since he came to depend less and less upon the diagonal lines. We may take again this passage explaining his loss of mirth: "What-is-this quintessence of dust: (upward accent: lifts eyebrows and upper lip with a little scorn: gives his right hand a trivial swing outward) *man* delights not me; (clasps hands before him at his girdle, leaning against the table) *no, nor woman either* (long sound of *aw* in *nor* and upward inflection of the word; long, high, indrawing sound of *e* in *either* and upward inflection of the word)."

In lieu of further piecemeal illustrations let us take a single passage for which Booth was famous, the address to the ghost. I shall first quote, for comparison, an account appearing in *Galaxy* in January, 1869:

In the scene with the Ghost, Hamlet is turned away, when Horatio suddenly exclaims, "Look, my lord, it comes!" He catches sight of the vision, staggers toward Horatio, falls against him, gasping, "Angels and ministers of grace, defend us!" It is not terror of the supernatural alone. It is the appalling confirmation of his fears. It is the presence of his father hovering in some awful borderland, which is not life nor death, but wherein is seen the horrible image of both. His voice is husky and far away. He shivers as if the cold of the grave were upon him. Then reverence for the majestic presence banishes fear. His voice gathers power and sweetness as the words struggle forth. When he utters the one word *Father*, his love seems to overflow it, and expand it into volumes of tenderest speech as he

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence that Clarke was acquainted with Joshua Steele, *An Essay Toward Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech to be Expressed and Perpetuated by Peculiar Symbols* (London, 1775), or the 2nd edition revised, *Prosodia Rationalis* (London, 1779), containing among the illustrations the text of the "To be or not to be" soliloquy marked according to the system.

Tuesday July 10th 1890

(Continued.) 49

is, with a sad, puzzled, fushing look) that is the  
 question. (Voice falls in question; free, almost allegorical  
 any of these four words, yet very solemn & homely in  
 tone.) Whether 'tis noller in the mind, to suffer  
 our death; voice rises a little) the clings & arrows  
 nitrogenous fortunes; or to take an arrow against  
 the of troubles, but, by offering, and there? (Voice  
 has a little his hand slips back up his temples as  
 to rest upon the top of his forehead) to die? - to  
 - (voice rises in die & falls surprisingly in sleep)  
sleep; - (voice very low, & doubtfully conclusive;  
 does a trifle.) and (upward accent) by a sleep  
 out and of by the sleep to say and the  
at sole (hand-aids clearly & strongly pronounced;  
 of circumstances & the thousand (slight upward ac-  
 in thousand, downfall in and) natural shocks that  
 is heir to - (voice drops in to) 'tis a (rises to a  
 upright position. His right hand gradually sinks from  
 temple down to his breast) enunciation dearly  
in wishes. (Falling inflection of wishes; partially con-  
 and an instant begins a slight outward toss of the right  
 things to back to his breast.) To die; - (line of  
surprisingly again) to sleep; - (long sound of  
sleep; slightly upward accent & interrogatory tone  
 voice; draws his head back a little; his brow con-  
 & eyes start quickly with a new idea) to sleep!  
 back right hand at his breast; clear explanatory  
 ) perhaps to dream - (upward accent of dream  
 (sits back in his chair) there the and; (rises  
 to chair & stands beside it with his right hand resting  
 the bottom of the foot; his left hand drawn up to his

50

breast; looks forward fixedly; voice a little more rapid  
 as if he has slipped into a current of thought that  
 relieves somewhat the earnestness of his reflection.)  
 for in that sleep of death, what dreams may come,  
 when we have slipped off this mortal coil (voice rises  
 a little in slipped off, & declines into a deep solemn  
 tone in mortal coil; emphasises the two syllables  
 of mortal distinctly; strikes his breast three or four  
 times with the united fingers of his left hand at the word  
coil) must give no pause; (voice drops in pause; broad  
 sound of the word.) there the repeat that master calamity  
 of to long life; (stands facing front; hand at his breast but  
 held outward a little loosely & not pressing his brow;  
 head bent down a trifle) for who (long this sound of who  
 in who) would be (upward accent of be) the white  
of time, (slight step at the comma after  
time but no descent in the voice) the offences many,  
 the first man continually (continually separated into  
 syllables con- tin- u- ally each distinctly but the whole  
 connectively pronounced) the fringe of defunct love, the  
law's delay (From 'For who would be' to this point, the  
 voice did not vary much. It was like that of a man  
 who is merely recollecting the items that rise before his im-  
 agination) the inclusion (upward accent of inclusion)  
 of office (that pronunciation of office & falling inflec-  
 tion to the former level, in the word) the spence that  
patient ment (voice accents in spence falls in that;  
 rises again in patient ment) of the unusually talent (voice  
 falls smoothly & sounds in talent) when he himself (lower  
 tone) might his ghostly made with a bare bottom?  
 (Pronounces bare bottom a little stronger than the preceding

FRIDAY, July 15th, 1870.

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words, with a slight tone of contempt. Sets his hand full to his dagger, at his girdle, & raises the weapon a little then lets go of it) who (long sound of the o, upward accent) would fain be to grant us sweat under a weary (long sound of & in weary) life; but that (voice drops & becomes a trifle solemn) the dread of something after death — the undiscovered country (voice rises in undiscovered, softly), from whose boon (pronounced boon; low upward & rises right hand, partially, before him) no Frailty returns (voice falls in turns) fuggles (voice rises) the will (upward accent will) & males us rather bear those ills we have (voice declines in have; walks slowly to right front, his right hand clasping the left hand before him) than fly to others (low voice; steps at left front) that we know not of. Thus conscience (stands at left front facing right <sup>front toward the right hand</sup> center) does make conscience of us all; (voice falls in all) But thus the native hue (long sound of as in hue) of resolution (downward accent of resolution) is clouded o'er by the pale cast of thought (low voice) as enterprises of great heart monuments, with this regard (upward accent of regard) their currents turn away (long & sound of the ay in away; slightly ascending inflection fatal syllable) as low (voice falls again to a low, base, thoughtful monotone) the image of action. (Walks slowly to, front center. Ophelia comes from the right hand front rear & goes up toward center reading a book. Hamlet sees her at center front, & starts a little) Soft you now! The fair Ophelia; (partially upward accent of Ophelia. He walks quietly & gently toward her; voice as of

SATURDAY, July 16th, 1870.

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one pleasantly withdrawn from meditation. Approaches at front center) Hamlet, in thy orisons be all my sin remembered? (upward accent of remembered of gentle & conscious intensity. Bows to her with tender comes.)

Oph. "God my lord, how does your honor for this many a day?" Hamlet. (Shrinks out of his attitude of graceful grief, becomes a little more rigid & erect in his dress. Looks at her, & much of the polite warmth with which he greeted her disappears. Drops his head a little, clasps hands before him, bows with some formality.) I have thought of you. (Saw, constrained voice.) Well, (slight upward accent, a tinge of sadness in the tone. Turns toward right well (voice a little lower than that with which he found the first well; descending tone) well. (Voice drops with faint expression of dignity & refinement. Takes a step to the rear with his head clasped before his breast. As he is on he throws back his head a little & puts his hands up forehead. At this instant he sees the King & Polonius behind the pillars of the gallery in the rear, which they have just entered. Hamlet steps abruptly; his head clutched his forehead; thus he makes a movement as if on, but pauses & casts a quick glance of reproval at any one his right chamber at Ophelia — who is at center with her head bowed, disengaging the moment from her dress. She does not notice his action, & then or there alive toward rear with his bowed & an air of dejection which intensifies the thought of his heart that she is trying to betray him.)

Oph. "My lord, (Hamlet steps & remains motionless with his back to her, his left arm crossing his breast

(Over)

falls on his knees and stretches out eager hands to the solemn shade. The "Oh, answer me!" was incredibly imploring and persuasive.

That is the generalized impression of a somewhat sentimental spectator in 1869. Here is the report of the young observer of 1870:

Ghost enters at right rear. Hamlet does not see it, being faced toward the right front and looking down. Horatio sees it and starts back. "*Horatio*. Look my lord, it comes!" Hamlet rouses as from some idea that had suddenly laid hold of him, and turns; confronts the ghost who stands quite near him: staggers back, raising his left hand swiftly as if to clear his eyes and by that means throws off his bonnet, which hangs behind his neck as he declines: sinks into Horatio's arms at left centre, and says in a whisper of fear "Angels and ministers of grace defend us!" (Ghost pauses between right centre and right front. Hamlet leans against Horatio but still stands, and stares at the ghost, breathing hard.) Be thou a spirit of *health* [a waving line] (thin, clear voice, above a whisper but not speech) a goblin *damned*, (rising tone) bring with thee *airs* from *heaven* or *blasts* (shrinking tenor voice, that rises in volume and reaches its height in the word *airs* and continues so to *blasts*) from *hell* (*from* in a rounder tone; *hell* with a slight intermixture of bass) . . . I will speak to thee (voice becoming gradually natural . . . I'll call thee *Hamlet* (strong emphasis heavy sound of H in *Hamlet*, rises on tip toe still supported by Horatio; reaches out both arms toward ghost) *King*, takes a step forward; Horatio withdraws his decided help but still keeps his hands on him) *Father!* (deep, tender, appealing accent in this word; sinks to his knees, reaching out his arms toward the ghost; bows his head and pauses for an instant) *Royal Dane*; (long sound of *oy*; looks up, his face seeming to throb with feeling and his hands trembling so violently as to be noticed in all parts of the theatre.) Oh *answer me!* (upward accent on *me*).

This is reporting of the first order. The scene has been recreated for the reader. Usually a statement of a general impression follows the reproduction of a scene or speech. "This speech," Clarke added, "was delivered slowly, and with a marvellous amount of pathos, fear, and longing manifested in it. From the time Booth cried 'Father' which he did with deep reverence and tenderness, he kept upon his knees. His voice was very low, yet distinct and clear."

Clarke never forgot, however, that he was a novice. After recording the entire dialogue with Horatio (V. ii.), omitted from the text sold at the door, and commenting acutely upon it as an example of the art of narrative, he added: "It may be that my fancy puts wings upon Booth's tones, and carries them into regions where their echoes suggest more than his tones can suggest, in literal fact." After this act of self-criticism he continues: "I could not be more complimentary to Booth than I am in saying that his acting frees my fancy and makes each word and motion the little stereoscope through which some great glowing view of a grand emotion or a magnificent idea is for the instant placed before my eyes." With this our young enthusiast takes wings for a hundred words, rising to an apostrophe to Booth as if his identity and power were "somewhere just overhead and I was looking up toward them as to some source

of mental health and light." For this we can excuse him when he goes on: "Well, this is from the point. Having ended this rhapsody. . ."

At the very end of the manuscript, after some acute censure of the production and an indication of the salutary effect of these weeks of writing one comes upon a passage which might profitably find a place in contemporary criticism:

Booth's Hamlet is not natural. Shakespeare's Hamlet is not natural. Shakespeare's Hamlet is full of art, full of rhetoric, full of versification. Booth's Hamlet is full of art, full of mechanical rhetoric, full of that poetry of way and method which in the actor is akin to the versification of the poet. Both are ideal—too ideal for life. Yet, both are full of human nature.

It is unsafe and false to play Hamlet practically. I did not like Fechter, because he played it in a realistic way. No piece that is written in poetry can be played prosaically. It must be expressed in a higher form than the literal and commonplace expressions of matter of fact. It represents possibility—not reality. It appeals to one's sense of what might be—it does not represent actual occurrence.

Booth's Hamlet is poetical; essentially lifelike, but life elaborated and thrown into rhythmical shape.

Where had this young critic without benefit of Aristotle learned that a play "represents possibility—not reality"? Where had he learned to create phrases such as: "life elaborated and thrown into rhythmical shape"? He had, I learn, a wise mother who had encouraged wide reading. At seventeen he had a story accepted by Frank Leslie for the *Chimney Corner*, and others had followed rapidly, many before 1870, and charades for *Godey's Lady's Book*. In New York he had attended an evening high school and had been graduated in 1868. After completing this manuscript in the summer or fall of 1870, he entered Rochester Free Academy (a high school), graduating in 1873. He married in the same year, and a daughter, one of eight children, writes, "The task of earning a living for his family prevented him from carrying out his literary ambitions."

With a brother he turned West, settling eventually, in 1884, in Spokane Falls, Washington. In this region he made and lost small fortunes in stockraising, dry farming, mining, and real estate. At ninety the man who at twenty-one wrote on the first page of his journal that friends feared for his health if he persisted in going to college, was to be found at his office six hours each day. He died on his ninety-second birthday, December 31, 1940. The manuscript, temporarily lost, fortunately came to light after his death, and it is now in the possession of one of his daughters, Miss Emma E. Clarke, for many years before her retirement head of the Department of English in the North Central High School, Spokane. She has made it possible for me to tell this story.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The manuscript will eventually be deposited in the Folger Shakespeare Library.



## A REVIEW OF RECENT SHAKESPEARE SCHOLARSHIP

By OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL

**Y**EARS ago Professor Charles Grandgent once remarked that to keep abreast of Dante scholarship in English, French, German, and Italian he would have to read one hundred pages of printed matter every day as long as he lived. For a contemporary Shakespearian, the daily stint of such reading would have to be at least two hundred pages. Raven in his *Hamlet Bibliography* writes: "In addition to criticism of Shakespeare in general, there has been published on the average of every twelve days since 1876 something concerned solely with Hamlet."<sup>1</sup> Under these depressing circumstances, it is fortunate for me, who have time to read little except books about Shakespeare, that almost every type of literature is represented in the corpus: the deeply subjective lyrical poem in the rhapsodies of George Wilson Knight; charming prose fiction in many of Dover Wilson's books; jolly sort of parody in William Bliss's *The Real Shakespeare* (London, 1947), and so on.

Until the 1920's most reputable Shakespearian scholars focused their attention on sources, analogues, influences, and conventions of the drama and the stage. By assuming that Shakespeare was somehow the product of his theatrical and literary environment, they explained everything about him except his art. This neglected field of study, modern critics have adopted as their own.

I heartily approve of the new direction which Shakespearian study has taken. Investment in the older methods of research had begun to pay smaller and smaller dividends. It was high time to set up some new "reflectors"—to borrow one of Henry James's more useful critical terms—around Shakespeare's plays. However, my approval of the aims and some of the methods of the new schools of criticism does not extend to all their results. The judgments which I shall pass are necessarily expressions of my own critical assumptions, the most important of which is that every play of Shakespeare is first of all a story told in dramatic form. Its plot and the arrangement of its narrative elements always reveal its primary meaning and the author's ideas about men and the lives they lead. But I realize that Shakespeare, besides being a dramatist was a poet and a philosophical poet, too, in the truest sense of the term. Therefore the almost exclusive attention that modern critics pay to his imagination and his thought is in a measure justified. However, what they discover through their analyses of poetic structure and their exploration of symbolic significances should be in complete harmony with the meaning of the play as revealed by Shakespeare's story and his way of telling it.

I shall be able to illustrate only a few of the new critical methods by presenting briefly a characteristic example of each. Fortunately, I need not comment on the many biographies and fictionized lives of Shakespeare that of late have been streaming from the press. Professor Ernest Brenneke in the October 1950

<sup>1</sup> Anton Adolph Raven, *A Hamlet Bibliography and Reference Guide* (Chicago, 1936), p. iii.

number of *Shakespeare Quarterly* has wisely and wittily dealt with most of them. Abel Lefranc's recent *À la Découverte de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1950), naturally enough, was not included in Professor Brennecke's list. This is the last of the distinguished Frenchman's valiant life-long efforts to prove that the author of all the plays and poems was the fourth Earl of Derby. Unlike most of the other heretics, M. Lefranc is a distinguished Renaissance scholar, the author of many learned volumes on men and the literature of the sixteenth century. It is not surprising, then, to discover in his volume many hitherto neglected and significant facts which, although they contribute little or nothing to the establishment of his thesis, must eventually be assimilated into the body of orthodox Shakespeare scholarship.

Along with the voluminous output of the modern schools, there appears now and then an important volume of orthodox, historical criticism—such as Professor Parrott's judicious and learned *Shakespearean Comedy* (Oxford, 1949); Karl Holzknicht's *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1950), praised by Professor Brennecke as "by far the best of all Shakespeare handbooks," "a vade mecum for the Shakespearean, both the beginner and the veteran,"<sup>2</sup> and Charles T. Prouty's scholarly *The Sources of Much Ado about Nothing* (Yale, 1950).

*The Royal Play of Macbeth* (New York, 1950) by Henry N. Paul, successor to H. H. Furness as dean of the famous Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia, is an original and important application of the historical method to one of Shakespeare's tragedies. Mr. Paul's thesis, to be sure, is not entirely new. Other scholars have suggested that *Macbeth* was designed for a special performance before the King at Hampton Court—in 1606—and that, to please his monarch, Shakespeare incorporated into the tragedy many of the problems which were absorbing King James's attention in that year. Mr. Paul's originality lies in his discovery that many features of the play, unnoticed by earlier critics, were introduced into the story in order to flatter the learned James. For example, Mr. Paul shows that Shakespeare's treatment of the witches does not reflect King James's early credulity as expressed in his *Daemonology*. On the contrary, it is the King's later skeptical and ambivalent attitude toward all the phenomena of sorcery that Shakespeare presents. That is, the poet leaves it doubtful whether the witches and ghosts, like the air-drawn dagger, are merely the product of Macbeth's disordered imagination, because in thus treating those supernatural creatures, he was exactly reflecting the King's puzzled skepticism toward all manifestations of sorcery. Mr. Paul goes on to show that James's interests in other questions widely debated in his day, including some of the ideas expressed in his *Basilicon Doron*, becomes part of the texture of the drama. The author's researches not only reveal an unsuspected intellectual development of King James, but also lend a new intellectual richness to the royal tragedy of *Macbeth*.

The essays composing Leslie Hotson's *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays* (New York, 1950) are all reports and interpretations of historical research in quaint Elizabethan byways. Some of them such as "Mine Host of the Mermaid" and "An Elizabethan Madman and *Venus and Adonis*" bring to life eccentric creatures of Shakespeare's London and relate them amusingly

<sup>2</sup> Ernest Brennecke, "All Kinds of Shakespeares," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, I (October 1950), 273.



to his work. Of the three designed to prove that the poet wrote many of his sonnets in the late 1580's, I must report unfavorably. Mr. Hotson perversely ignores the obvious for the far-sought. "Thy pyramids built up with newer might" of Sonnet 123 he tries to show are Egyptian obelisks set up by Pope Sixtus in Rome in the 1580's, when the reference is almost surely to the great wooden pyramid erected in London in 1603 as part of the celebration of the advent of James. He tortures the lines of Sonnet 107 to make them—contradictory to every sort of literary probability—apply to the defeat of the Armada, when the poem can easily be read as a description of events of the year 1603. And the strained ingenuity by which he seeks to identify *Love's Labour's Won* with *Troilus and Cressida* convinces no one. His forced interpretations of simple facts suggest that Mr. Hotson has been seduced from sober judgment by his irresistible desire to startle and waylay or—as Harry Levin puts it—"his zeal for discovery along with his detective story techniques, have been strained beyond the point of diminishing returns."

Of modern schools the one called by Professor Stoll the "Highbrow School" deserves our first attention. It sprang full-grown from the sensitive and eccentric mind of George Wilson Knight. Believing that the neglect of Shakespeare's imagination has "wrecked the understanding of his works," this metaphysical critic supposes that his study of the poet's imagery and symbolism will solve the hitherto impenetrable mystery of Shakespeare's imagination. What he regards as his most important discovery is that Shakespeare is differentiated from other poets by a peculiarly consistent use of images and symbols in all of his important dramas. "Tempest," the symbol of death, and "music," the symbol of love and life, appear everywhere in the works as dominant symbols, and the tension between the two is everywhere present. Only by grotesque straining of the evidence can Mr. Knight find these symbols where he says they are. For example, he is compelled to interpret the ducking of Falstaff in *The Merry Wives* as a tempest symbol. Water, water anywhere means tempest. But the weakness of his method and that of all who follow his lead is that the symbolic meaning given to various phenomena has no sounder basis than the critic's *ipse dixit's*. The identifications take place in the very private imagination of the critic. They are naked assertions which almost no one else believes. For example, Knight's declaration that the Trojans in *Troilus and Cressida* are symbols of intuition. Sometimes Knight's eye is turned so resolutely inward that he cannot read the plain words of the text. He says, for instance, that Troilus takes final leave of Cressida to the sweet notes of the lark when, as Troilus complains, they are compelled to take an everlasting farewell to the cawing of ribald crows.

The so-called "new critics," to whose work I now turn, derive their method ultimately from the French "explication du texte." But their particular form of "explication" owes most to Miss Spurgeon's *Shakespeare's Imagery*, given specific direction by T. S. Eliot's statement that an image should not be regarded as an isolated detail in a poem, but should be "part of an architectural structure." Applying this dictum to a Shakespearian play, they discover there a system of images so artfully joined as to reveal a communication made directly to the reader through his imagination. The images in this linked chain are related to each other independently of the time sequence. Since these critics derive also

from Wilson Knight, their work unfortunately displays his fundamental weakness—the completely subjective character of their *ipse dixit's*. For example, Cleanth Brooks in his often perceptive analysis of *Macbeth* writes that every time Shakespeare wrote “babe” or “child” he meant the future. How does he know?

The most ambitious application of this method is to be found in Robert Heilman's *This Great Stage: Image and Structure in King Lear* (Louisiana State University, 1948). With great ingenuity he isolates numerous systems of linked images in the tragedy. By following each in its appointed course, Mr. Heilman succeeds in discovering in *King Lear* “an immensely inclusive anthropology, an effort unequaled in drama to get at the problem of man from every side and every aspect.” Shakespeare idolatry has never gone further. He has become the supreme metaphysician and—more wonderful to contemporary intellectuals—the supreme anthropologist. Mr. Heilman's study is either the ultimate triumph of the method or its reduction to absurdity.

The new critics are right in believing that the structure of the poetry in Shakespeare's poetical drama has been too long neglected and, also, in assuming that any critical examination of the poetry must concern itself largely with metaphor and symbol. It is their further assumption that Shakespeare schematized his figures in the manner of T. S. Eliot and the later Yeats, which leads them astray. Our poet worked rather with clusters of images of similar evocation relevant only at specific points in the dramatic action. Most of the new critics are men of delicate aesthetic sensibilities, but too often they display more sensibility than historical and linguistic knowledge and sometimes, alas! more sensibility than sense. However, in spite of their limitations, they are performing a very important service to Shakespeare criticism. They have made us aware of a new idiom in poetry—that each one of the plays possesses a consciously planned emotional and imaginative structure, which is just as important to sense as it is to grasp the moral significance of the action, or—to put the matter more succinctly—there are in Shakespeare's poetry, as in all art deserving of the name, significations beyond the reach of discourse.

Closely related to the attempts of this school to discover by a kind of critical legerdemain the manner in which Shakespeare's imagination habitually functioned, is a persistent search for the intellectual bases on which his reading of life is built. The most ambitious and thorough of the volumes devoted to this subject is Paul Reyhers' *Essai sur les Idées dans l'Oeuvre de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1947). The author isolates many ideas or “themes,” as he prefers to call them, and establishes the position of each in the European history of that idea. He treats such different themes as vengeance, solaces for adversity, friendship, the nature of man. The book is a storehouse of information for every student of the history of Renaissance ideas. But the author seldom shows how the idea he describes is incorporated into the dramatic action of the play.

This failure Donald Stauffer seeks to correct in his *Shakespeare's World of Images* (New York, 1949). By ideas the author means moral attitudes; and any interpreted human action becomes to him a moral attitude. Ideas thus defined he sees most often formulated in a single character or in the tension established between two or more characters. Sometimes the conception is made clear in

symbolic action, as in the case of the caskets in *The Merchant of Venice*. The author is at his best when defining and defending his critical method. Moreover, through a careful presentation of the relationship of the idea to the action and to the character, he is able to formulate Shakespeare's ideas in an aesthetically sound fashion. That is, he keeps us aware that he is not culling from the drama a list of ideas current in Shakespeare's age, but dealing with them as constituent elements of a well-defined art form.

Alfred B. Harbage, in *As They Like It* (New York, 1947), clearly agrees with Stauffer that Shakespeare's ideas are moral attitudes. Harbage believes that Shakespeare is an advocate of traditional, universally accepted morality, that his is a quite unhistorical frame of reference—i.e., moral human nature as it always has appeared in Western civilization. Hence the relation of Shakespeare's dramatic art—indeed of any dramatic art—to the moral nature of man is about like that of wind to the surface of water: "it keeps the surface agitated, spanking it into sunny little ripples or driving it into powerful surges, but it does not trouble the depths"—that is, disturb universally held moral values.

One of the most original of recent studies treating Shakespeare more as a thinker than as a dramatist is Willard Farnham's *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950). Professor Parrott, in his review of the book in the October 1950 number of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, places the author "on the old road of systematic study of Shakespearean characters." I find him, on the contrary, breaking comparatively new ground, for he believes that the protagonists of *Timon of Athens*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus* illustrate a Renaissance conception of human beings most clearly expressed by John Donne in his *Paradoxes and Problems*, in his *Progress of the Soul*, in his *Sermons*, and elsewhere. Donne insists that good and evil are so fused together in the world and particularly in the mind and conduct of man that the two can be distinguished only by opinion. In other words, nothing is so naturally sin that it cannot sometimes be a virtue. Professor Farnham contends that what he calls the "deepflawed" protagonists of the tragedies I have just enumerated exactly illustrate in their actions that inextricable mixture of good and evil which Donne found everywhere in the world. For the faults of these men reach to the very center of their being and give a paradoxical quality to whatever is noble in their nature. Defects of nature, according to this theory, can take on dignity through a quality in their very being. This view of life serves—so he thinks—as a kind of directive for the creation of the paradoxical protagonists of Shakespeare's later tragedies. Farnham's thesis works best for *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra* and with *Timon* worst of all, for I cannot agree with Mr. Farnham's notion that "Timon becomes a magnificent hater of evil only by becoming evil himself." I discern only evil and folly in Timon's violent veering from one extreme of conduct to another and in his hateful diatribes against the whole scheme of things. Nor am I satisfied with an analysis of *Coriolanus* that leads to the dictum that the tragedy is a noble failure. If Professor Farnham had recognized the great difference in structure and in dramatic technique between *Timon* and *Coriolanus* on the one hand and *Macbeth* and *Antony and Cleopatra* on the other, differences which represent a different aesthetic intention, he would not have tried to group all four of these

plays together. The most important result of Farnham's study is the discovery that the ideas of a contemporary non-dramatic writer can throw light upon Shakespeare's mind.

W. B. C. Watkins' *Shakespeare and Spenser* (Princeton, 1950) also illuminates Shakespeare's work, casting light upon it from a body of great non-dramatic poetry. He begins with the thesis that—since some truths about poetry can be conveyed only in terms of other poetry—one poet is often the best unintentional critic of another. After bringing the work of Spenser and Shakespeare together in our critical consciousness, the author deals not with influences, but with "poetic qualities and spiritual values." Mr. Watkins is particularly persuasive in his chapter entitled Shakespeare's "Banquet of Sense." Here he shows the relation of *Venus and Adonis* to other Elizabethan Ovidian poems, including Ovidian passages in Spenser, and then goes on to show how his conception of love influences Shakespeare's treatment of passion, particularly in *Troilus and Cressida* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. Spenser's great epic, *The Faerie Queene*, is made to cast light on Shakespeare's drama, too, for the author believes that "these two kinds of poetry have long fertilized each other."

In his excellent chapter on *King Lear*, Mr. Watkins shows how the poetical technique employed and particularly how the abrupt and calculated changes in technique affect the presentation of different qualities of emotion in many scenes and so increase and diversify their characteristic impact. I find this book one of the most perceptive and revealing treatments of Shakespeare's poetry to be found anywhere. Though the author is familiar with all the new techniques for judging poetry, he has a discriminating enough historical sense to realize that he is dealing with Elizabethan and not modern poetry and, unlike many contemporary critics, he is not wedded to any one method of critical procedure.

The classic and by far the best example of psycho-analytical or Freudian criticism is Sir Ernest Jones's analysis of *Hamlet*, the last and more complete version of which appeared last year under the title of *Hamlet and Oedipus* (New York, 1950). This book is too well known to need extended description here. His view is that the cause of Hamlet's hesitancy lies in some unconscious source of repugnance to his task. And that is the so-called Oedipus complex or the desire of a young hero to displace a rival father in the affection of his mother. This is a theme common to the instinctual life of the race and appears in countless myths. If this theory is true, what help does it give us in interpreting *Hamlet*? In the first place, since in the dark regions of every man's mind the Oedipus complex lies crouching, the theory partly explains the world-wide popularity of the tragedy. In the second place, it gives us the real reason for Hamlet's hesitancy, so that we are able to recognize his overt motives, expressed or implied, in the play as either disguises or rationalizations of the real concealed motives. In the third place, it explains why Shakespeare is able to present us with so overwhelming a proof that the essence of man's Fate is inherent in his own soul.

Yet, like most Freudian analyses, this one offers little help toward the apprehension of the aesthetic form into which the specific story of Hamlet has been cast. The same limitation is inherent in the various attempts to place dramatic characters into this or that Freudian type. What new insight does the

knowledge that Richard II is a narcissistic type give us into his personality or his deeds? Of late the experts have pronounced both Ben Jonson and Lewis Carroll to be anal types. Yet the diagnosis does not enable us to predict at all the nature of the imaginative products of either author. What two works of literature could be more different than *Volpone* and *Alice in Wonderland*? The truth is that no one can foresee what literary blossoms will spring from any specific Freudian seed. In other words, the ways of the imagination, even of identical Freudian types, are infinitely various and elude discovery by any known scientific psychological system.

The psycho-analytical criticism, particularly when carried on by so restrained and careful an expert as Sir Ernest Jones, leads inevitably to the mythical or anthropological school. Its members find myth or primitive story—usually the universal nature myth of the struggle between winter and spring—preserved in separate incidents of a play or even as part of its fundamental structure. For example, Freud suggests that when Birnam Wood comes to Dunsinane—i.e., when marching men concealed by branches of trees approach Macbeth's stronghold—we have a relic of an old folk May festival. The death of winter and the birth of spring was celebrated by processions just like the one in *Macbeth*. This seems a sensible suggestion. But when Freud goes on to maintain that the *Tragedy of Macbeth* is a late projection of a vegetation myth and that Macbeth is the descendant of a hibernal giant whose reign comes to an end in May, he retires into regions of speculation whence no light is shed on the central action of the play.

Francis Fergusson in his essay on *Hamlet*, a chapter in his excellent volume *The Idea of a Theatre* (Princeton, 1948), presents many challenging ideas about the play. Among them is the notion that Hamlet, like Oedipus, moves from hero to scapegoat and that by his death he cleanses the something rotten in the state of Denmark. That is, he accomplishes a purgatorial rite for himself and for the state. Fergusson believes that the nature of the façade of the Elizabethan stage would lead the audience to expect a play about human destiny. It was, so he believes, a symbolic representation of the traditional cosmos. For the genealogy of this symbolic façade goes back through street pageantry to painting, to the architecture of tombs and altars and thence back to the arcade screen of the Greek tragic theatre itself. This theory, adopted from Kernodle, enables Mr. Fergusson to find a new structural and ideational unity in the play, in the various attempts to discover the "hidden imposthume" which is destroying Denmark. In following the fortunes of the various characters we see how each in turn actualizes the theme of the story according to his lights by casting shifting perspectives on the main theme. This is the significance of the multiple plotting of *Hamlet* and of most of Shakespeare's plays. This idea is a very fruitful one, but its relation to the so-called ritualistic feature of the play or to the notion that Hamlet is a kind of Messiah and that the entire tragedy is, as it were, his prolonged struggle in the Garden of Gethsemane, is not made clear. This passion to discover everywhere in literature restatements of the primitive is, I suspect, a symptom of profound dissatisfaction with our modern culture and an instinctive desire to push its roots deep down into the simpler, more

natural days of man's life when he lived under the compulsions of fear and wonder.

One inference to draw from this cursory review of these multifarious new approaches to Shakespeare is that he can never be completely understood, nor can his plays ever be finally and completely interpreted. Therefore it is right to approach him from every possible angle, or, to change the figure, to set up more and more reflectors around the circumference of the circle in the center of which he stands. Some will cast more light than others, some may even deepen the shadow in which he stands. But every one of them is worth erecting, for only by the multiplication of the number of these critical reflectors can students of Shakespeare preserve the illusion that year by year, day by day, they are bringing into the light more and more facets of his enigmatical personality.

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## MORE LIGHT ON SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

By LESLIE HOTSON

BEFORE venturing to offer further considerations in support of an early date for Shakespeare's Sonnets, I ought first of all to voice my appreciation of the hospitable welcome the arguments already advanced have enjoyed on both sides of the Atlantic. This development, in view of the chronically inflamed and extremely irritable condition of the subject, is in itself remarkable. We specialists have always taken it for granted that if one were so incautious as to touch the Sonnets, they would bite. It's a great relief to discover that if approached in a certain way they not only don't bite, but actually respond to treatment. All the same, it is no simple matter to adapt our minds promptly and fully to an unaccustomed point of view. Well-nourished preconceptions have to be reckoned with. Easy enough to say that we've all been suckled in a creed outworn, but not so easy—when it comes to the point—to turn in the old formula-bottle for a newer model.

One able creative critic, for example, refuses to take advantage of the demonstrated Elizabethan metaphor picturing a fleet defeated as a moon eclipsed, which clears up the "Terrene Moone" passage in *Antony and Cleopatra*. He must have Antony inculcating the "boggler" and "kite" Cleopatra as "our Terrene Moone," forgetting that the Elizabethans saw Antony a proud Roman, a naval commander condemned and haunted by the black disgrace he has brought on himself. Garnier's *Tragedie of Antonie* (Countess of Pembroke's translation) accordingly shows his mind obsessed by the true original of his eclipse: "Strange! one disordred act at Actium, The Earth subdu'de, my glory hath obscur'd." A fit companion-piece to his Shakespearian aside, "Alacke our Terrene Moone is now Eclipst, And it portends alone the fall of Anthony." What we have not realized is the commonness in contemporary poetry of the use of "moon" for a fleet-formation: "Each fleet y<sup>e</sup> Capitaines had devided soone Into y<sup>e</sup> forme of y<sup>e</sup> half-circled Moone, But as their furious hornes together met, These two halfe-moones a full Moone did beget."<sup>1</sup> "Goe: cut the salt fome with your moonéd keeles."<sup>2</sup> And when, less than a year after the publication of the Sonnets, Ben Jonson celebrates Elizabeth's Armada victory, he echoes Shakespeare's "mortal moon" with "enemy's moon": "And sent first bullets, then a fleet of fire . . . through the enemies moone, That wan'd before it grew."<sup>3</sup> As for Shakespeare's "eclipse," we find that Jonson associated the idea of *waning* with it: "Nor any earth, with black eclipses wane him."<sup>4</sup>

In this matter of the dating of the Sonnets we have made gratifying progress. Based as they are on the uncertain ground of old and conflicting theory, the few objections to the new date prove mutually destructive. We may call

<sup>1</sup> *Naumachia*, Bodl. MS. Rawl. Poet. 83, f. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dekker, *Whore of Babylon* (1607) sig. H4<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Prince Henries Barriers, Works*, ed. Herford and Simpson, VII, 332.

<sup>4</sup> *Hymenai, ib.*, 234.

it a significant straw in the wind to find Shakespeare scholars long and publicly wedded to the "Southampton theory" unobtrusively applying for divorce. The cat has, it seems, already jumped. And with the aid of further evidence it should not prove too difficult to persuade Professor Harbage into agreement, since he is favorably disposed, always open to conviction, and was never the man to succumb to the more fanciful theories. It is indeed hard to believe that his strong common sense can be thoroughly satisfied that in Sonnet 107 the cataclysm widely foretold to a terrified world, the doom which would blot Shakespeare out in the universal death, is really nothing more serious than insular anxieties attending the royal succession—for which, by the way, James was well known to be a pretty sure thing; or that Shakespeare could ever be guilty of calling his fair Vestal thronéd by the West a "tyrant," especially after she was safely dead; or yet that the marvelous ancient pyramids of Father Time are actually no more than some ephemeral wooden pageantry, nailed up by the newer might of the joiners in Soper Lane for James to ride under.

For on reflection it is evident that when James came in with his policy of peace with Spain, there were no longer any "tyrants" in the western world for Englishmen to execrate. In 1603 the thought was obsolete. Of the two recognizable tyrants, the one, the fighting Cæsar-Pope, Sixtus V, had died in 1590, and the other, the aggressive despot Philip II, in 1598. Back in the year 1589, however, the Lord Chancellor, Hatton, was denouncing them in Parliament respectively as "that wolfish bloodsucker" and "that insatiable tyrant." For in that year they were both alive, still dangerous, prudently preparing grandiose mausoleums for themselves in S. Maria Maggiore and the Escorial, and furnishing plenty of point for Shakespeare's scornful line, "When tyrants crests and tombs of brass are spent."

And before we get too far from the pyramids of Sonnet 123, it is only natural to expect that—if more of the thoughtful English verse written in the late 1580's and early 1590's had survived along with Shakespeare's Sonnets—we should find no dearth of poetic references to those gigantic remembrancers of the antique world, the famous resurrected obelisks of Rome. Last summer, among the Bodleian manuscripts, I found such an example in a rimed elegy on Sir William Sackville, soldier son of a poet father, written by John Rosse of the Inner Temple (MS. Douce 277). Dated as it is in 1592, some three years after the last obelisk had been set up, it naturally does not call them *novel*, as Shakespeare had done while they were news. In praising the dead heroic Sackville as a modern Scipio, the poet however does not fail to point out that the rebuilt Roman pyramids rather bear witness to the deathless renown of Scipio than flatter the upstart popes:

*Wittnesse yee Obyliskes & Pyrameds  
Yee stately ensignes of the Romane glory  
Beare record of his memorable deedes  
And let your lasting substaunce bee his story.  
For nor the Vaticane nor St. Angelo  
Can grace you more then worthie Scipio.*

One or two scholars, while accepting the references to contemporary events



pointed out in Sonnets 107, 123, and 124, have yet found it difficult to allow Shakespeare mental maturity at the age of twenty-five. In their dilemma they have been tempted so far as to suggest that the topical sonnets are perhaps not what they seem; that when they say "now," they should be read as meaning "long ago"; in short, that they are stale affairs, unaccountably dredged up some eight or ten years after their matter could have enjoyed its timely application. This, if they really believed it, would indeed be a novelty of criticism; and they would enjoy the further singularity of being the only readers who ever imagined that Sonnet 107 was not contemporaneous with the moment of "crises passed." Obviously, however, such a notion can be no more than a counsel of despair. No one would venture seriously to deny to Shakespeare what we grant to every other poet—the timeliness of his "occasional" verse; and still less, to seek the distinction of trotting Shakespeare out as a kind of Elizabethan Rip van Winkle.

As for maturity in youth, we may well be warned against passing hasty judgment on the world's most incalculable genius, by the familiar examples of such lesser figures as Sidney, Donne, and Keats. No one is tempted to suggest that their mature work *could not* have been written in their twenties, for the effective reason that evidence is there to show that it *was*. Yet if John Keats had lived to be fifty-two, and we had no clue as to when he wrote those finest odes, some critic would infallibly discover that their poetic texture and thought are obviously far too mature for any youth of twenty-four. Maturity is not always measured by the critic's clock.

The arguments for accepting the mature and topical sonnets of Shakespeare as composed about 1589 address themselves to intelligence and common sense, exercised in the light of evidence both literary and historical. To find my conclusion about their date adopted by the cultivated general reader and approved by experts—historians of the period and leading modern critics of poetry—is a clear encouragement to look further. For it must occur to us all that if the early date is correct, the discoverable references to contemporary circumstance may perhaps not be restricted to the three sonnets already examined. Thoughts expressed elsewhere in the series may likewise reveal themselves as conditioned by the mental climate of that particular time.

In going over the Sonnets, more than one critic—Sir Edmund Chambers among the rest—has been struck by a special feature of Sonnet 66, that painful catalogue of the world's repulsive injustices which begins, "Tyr'd with all these for restfull death I cry." Most of the damnable wrongs in the list, as might be expected, are hardy perennials still flourishing today, and would find a place in any jeremiad. But a more Elizabethan note is sharply sounded in the two-line passage running, "And arte made tung-tide by authoritie, And Folly (Doctor-like) controuling skill." This is recognized to be the outburst of an able literary artist galled by the arbitrary prohibitions of an officious and stupid censor. Significantly, a single line proves sufficient for each of the other evils; tired especially with this one, however, the poet emphasizes it from a slightly different angle by repetition. Concerning the Elizabethan control of stage and press we have learned that there were two periods of particularly active censorship: the longer and more intense began in 1586 and tapered off in 1593, passing its peak about 1589; the other was a much briefer revival in 1599. The

authority was wielded by the bishops; in practice they delegated most of the immediate control to clerical deputies, many of them Doctors of Divinity or Theology—"Folly (Doctor-like) controuling skill."

The bearing of the sustained period of active censorship on the date of this sonnet cannot be overlooked. Evidently, the passage can hardly be a product of the middle Nineties, when censorship was relaxed. But we can understand that the heavyhanded and growing interference which took hold in 1586 might well in time harass a working actor and playwright into resentment and disgust. The Elizabethan Englishman was however no slave-born Muscovite, and could at least voice his indignation in the lines, "And arte made tung-tide by authoritie, And Folly (Doctor-like) controuling skill." In sum, if this was written in the earlier time we can see point in the protest, but if we attempt to assign the sonnets to the middle Nineties, none.

Any mind conversant with Elizabethan history will be arrested by another reflection of Shakespeare's. This appears in Sonnet 25, which begins, "Let those who are in fauor with their stars, Of publike honour and proud titles bost. . . ." Though unknown to fame, Shakespeare here contrasts his security and happiness in a love requited, with the misery of the great who fall from favor with prince or people. His first examples are "Great Princes fauorites," and with him we might readily recall Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, Essex—who's in, who's out, the great ones that ebb and flow by the moon. No particular disgrace of some one of them is singled out. But with his second example the case is altered:

The painefull warriar famosed for worth, [?fight]  
After a thousand victories once foild,  
Is from the booke of honour rased quite, [?forth]  
And all the rest forgot for which he toild.

While always dramatic, the falls of princes' favorites are not unexpected. As Elizabeth declared, Affection is false. Quite otherwise, however, with the experienced commander crowned with victories manifold, who upon one reverse is turned away into disgrace and neglect. Here is a startling and shameful evidence of man's ingratitude, comparable in our day to the rejection of Winston Churchill after he had saved his country.

This peculiar event exactly mirrored by Shakespeare happened once, and once only, in the reign of Elizabeth. To begin with, what Elizabethan commanders were famous and ever victorious? Sir John Norris, yes, and Sir Francis Vere. But easily first in every mind stood England's glory, the all-conquering Dragon whose name struck relentless terror to the Spanish enemy in both worlds, Sir Francis Drake. After his countless triumphs, the latest of which was gained over the greatest army ever entrusted to the sea, in the spring of 1589 Drake set out with Norris to attack King Philip's home-strength in Spain and Portugal. Though sped by the wingéd words of George Peele, and in the upshot highly damaging to the enemy, the expedition was dogged by ill-luck, bagged no great booty, and was treated at home as a failure. On his return, Drake's supreme services and reputation were not remembered. Greeted with disgrace, he went into retirement: the famous warrior, all his past forgot, quite rased from the book of honor. Nothing short of complete concentration on an

erroneous date for the Sonnets could have blinded us to the force of Shakespeare's contemporary response to this unique and challenging event. For no thought cut more deeply into his generous mind than man's ingratitude. Of course, even an ungrateful England found it could not do without Drake, and he was later called back. But the year of his—and England's—disgrace was 1589.

Now to recollect in brief what has passed before us. The scene is the year 1589. Through Shakespeare's eyes we have marveled at our great deliverance, not only from the deadly threat of the Armada, but even from the universal doom foretold for that fatal year, 1588. News of rebuilt old pyramids, that specious and repeated novelty of the hostile Pope of Rome, fails to impress us. In August, tidings from France of the fall of Catherine de' Medici's feeble child of state under the assassin's blow make us both proud of Elizabeth's strength and resolved to help God save her royal majesty from the like. Such tense times as these may require some sort of censorship, but as imposed these three years it has proved both clumsy and tiresome. This same summer, on his return from Portugal, we are shocked to see England's renowned champion, valor's noble mirror, sea-taming, sail-wing'd Drake, rejected by his own.

From Shakespeare's comment on events, we now turn to consider his place in the contemporary literary scene. In order to set the problem of the date of composition in its true perspective, let us ask ourselves a pertinent question. What was the usual age at which Elizabethan poets wrote sonnets? For though little light is cast by publication-dates which clearly lag many years behind the time of composition, there is yet abundant evidence available on this significant point. Watson printed his *Passions* at about twenty-five. Sidney's sonnets were written at about twenty-six. Sir William Alexander's are described as "the first fancies of his youth." John Donne's came before he was twenty-five. Barnabe Barnes's were published at twenty-four. Daniel called his "the private passions of my youth." Drayton's, printed at thirty, had been composed much earlier, having "long slept in sable night." Constable's had long circulated in manuscript before he similarly gave them to the press at thirty. Drummond wrote his sonnets "in early youth." Barnfield published his at twenty, and William Percy brought his out at the age of nineteen. Youth has ever been the proper time for lyric, and assuredly the Elizabethan age of early maturity, when men entered the university at fourteen, fifteen, or less, and, as Shakespeare tells us, were old at forty, provides no exception. Sonnets were universally held to be among the aspirant's first steps to Parnassus.

Here we have the true circumstance, setting, and condition of Shakespeare's Sonnets: the literary custom of his time, the common practice and fashion of his contemporaries. The average age in the nest of singing birds is well under twenty-five. Yet in the face of this we have allowed ourselves to treat the master of them all, the quick and fluent Shakespeare, as an outstanding case of retarded development, strikingly backward compared with his fellows, lagging some seven to fourteen years behind the average of his generation. And what has drawn us into such an absurdity? Nothing but the dates demanded by some equally absurd housemaids' fancies of an intimacy between "our Will" and the high-born Earl of Southampton, or, alternatively, the younger (but not less aristocratic) Earl of Pembroke. The reflection is not very comforting.

We are not, of course, subject to the puzzlement of the uninitiated reader of the Sonnets over their author's repeated complaints of old age, ugliness, and decrepitude. Directly traceable to the young Petrarch, this convention, we are well aware, required such an incongruous pose of the youthful poet. "A conventional device of all the sonneteers of the day," its poetical utility is evident—to enhance by contrast the fresh beauty of the loved object. Against a foil of black, the jewel sticks more fiery off. As we all know, a glance into Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* will discover, among other sonneteers, Richard Barnfield (*aged twenty*) stylishly exclaiming, "Behold my gray head, full of silver hairs, My wrinkled skin, deep furrows in my face . . ." and the youthful Daniel chiming in with "My years draw on to everlasting night . . . My days are done." It would be amusing to multiply examples of this unmistakable hall-mark of the company of young Petrarchan sonneteers, an extravagance so utterly preposterous as to grow endearing. Yes, to the youth (that is, while his glands are still shouting to him, "O King, live forever!") it seems interesting as well as diverting to insist that his weary life is in the sere and yellow, that he is tottering on the brink of the grave. Let him but continue into middle life, crawl to maturity with its uneasy intimations of mortality, and that particular brand of make-believe will present no attractions whatever.

Strange, that with all our study we have given this distinctively young man's valetudinizing pose so little attention as not to have realized with Samuel Butler that Shakespeare's own adopting of it in his Sonnets is enough *in itself* to show that their author belongs to the young generation, and not to middle life! And what is more, the fact that he maintains this preposterous "old man" whimsicality throughout, including the sonnets on the Black Wenche, is an evident sign that *he wrote them all while he was young*. As might have been expected, the youthful period of composition indicated by his mention of contemporary events stands confirmed by his typical practice as a sonneteer.

At the same time, we must agree that he sounds sincere in his plainly expressed feeling of maturity and experience in his relation to his younger friend. How does this fit with our conclusion? At the outset of their friendship, put Shakespeare at twenty-two and his friend about nineteen, and this feeling of relatively marked maturity is both natural and understandable. At twenty-two, Shakespeare was the father of three children, and had been four years a married man. Take a comparison from our own observation, as Samuel Butler did half a century ago in his argument for this same point. Who feels older or more experienced than the married ex-service undergraduate—and who seems younger to him than the freshman? When he comes to middle life, such a few years' difference in age shrinks to a trifle. But at twenty-two, it is everything.

If about 1589 is the true terminal date of the Sonnets, one salient feature, utterly baffling when pored over in the gloom of an erroneous date, should now provide an unmistakable check. And that is, of course, the identity of the Rival Poet. It has always been plain that the poet at whom Shakespeare is aiming ought certainly from all the signs to be the contemporary who preceded him in popularity—Christopher Marlowe. In Sonnet 80 we read of the "better spirit" who "spends all his *might*," and in Sonnet 86 of the "spirit, by spirits taught to write *about a mortall pitch*," with the "proud full saile of his *great verse*." What

Elizabethan poet of whom Shakespeare could feel envious wrote in the style described in Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* as "the great or mightie kinde, when we vse great wordes, or vehement figures"? Who but Marlowe of the "mighty line" and *elati furoris*, of proud poetical fury? Who wrote "about a mortall pitch"? Who but the spirit bred of Merlin's race, maker of the sky-surmounting Tamburlaine and Faustus the nigromant? Whose irresistible verse, like a booming privateer, had its "proud full saile" stretched by the following wind of popularity? Whose but Marlowe's? Nothing in the world but the imaginary tardiness of the Sonnets could possibly have ruled Marlowe out. When however the date is seen to be about 1589, we can only wonder that what has so long stood between us and the obvious is nothing more substantial than an artificial fog of fancy about a couple of inoffensive Elizabethan carls. The year 1589 filled English minds with the glorious thought of precious prizes won at sea. For in that one year their privateers brought in ninety-one Spanish prizes, making it the moment *par excellence* for Shakespeare's metaphor: ". . . the proud full saile of his great verse, Bound for the prize of (all to precious) you. . ."

Certainly several of Shakespeare's early plays may well have preceded the completion of the Sonnets about 1589. Why not? Since we know nothing whatever about the dates of the earlier pieces, and the field for conjecture has been all too embarrassingly wide, a fixed point for the Sonnets may perhaps prove useful in our attempts to chronologize. The earliest publication-date for anything of Shakespeare's is of course 1593. *Venus and Adonis* was unquestionably printed in that year, and no one puts it in a class with the Sonnets. But who can tell us when it was composed? Shakespeare was quite capable of producing these unpolish'd lines to please the taste of the Earl of Southampton; but then again he might have turned them out at twenty, and published them only under the pinch of a plague-year, when the theaters were closed, to raise some money. Gabriel Harvey notes that especially "the younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeares Venus, & Adonis," contrasting it with *Lucrece*, which is worthy of pleasing the wiser. The poet himself, in planning *Lucrece* as a graver labour, regards *Venus and Adonis* not merely as an early work, but as *the first heir of my invention*: the earliest work of all.

Now to sum up. No particle of convincing evidence has ever been adduced to suggest a late date for the Sonnets. On the contrary, the topicalities of a number of them now indicate decisively that the series was written about 1589. In that year Shakespeare was twenty-five, not yet beyond the normal and fashionable age for an Elizabethan to write sonnets. And his employment throughout of the young poet's convention of old age is clear testimony to his youth. That the Rival Poet is Marlowe provides confirmation in overplus. Shakespeare's Sonnets, the profound as well as the slight, are the work of a young man.

If for a moment we can shake off our sluggish modern notions of mental development, do we find here any occasion for surprise? What do we expect of Shakespeare, that rising star whose influence will strike the mind of Milton with wonder and astonishment? In the crowd of what John Florio calls the "more active gallants . . . devising how to blaze and blanch their passions with aeglogues, songs, and sonnets," most, to be sure, trickling in the numbers that Petrarch flowed in, squeeze out very pitiful verses. But this is the mounting

Elizabethan generation in which (Ben Jonson tells us) "were all the wits born that could honour a language": what Shakespeare, who was the soul of it, recognizes as *this growing age of time-bettering days*. And among the mature poets we are granted not only "the miracle of our age," the rare Sir Philip, but also the more miraculous Shakespeare with his "pupil pen," both young, and both able to make what the sagacious essayist Sir William Cornwallis—himself barely out of his teens—describes with such fervor: "This music of two strings is the most delightful harmony: for the world affords not a more admirable excellency then youth and judgement included in one substance. Both partes shew their richest treasure: the Soule judgement, the Bodie youth."

### London



## A NEW SHAKESPEARE DOCUMENT

By JAMES G. McMANAWAY

DOCUMENTS relating to the King's Men are not so numerous that the discovery of a new one should go unannounced, especially if it pertains to a revival of one of Shakespeare's plays. The document in question is a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain for the payment to the financial agent of the King's Men for their performance of twenty-one plays before King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria in 1630-31.

A transcript of this document in the books of the Lord Chamberlain (*L.C.* 5/132, pp. 235-6) was printed for the first time with substantial accuracy<sup>1</sup> in the *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821), III, 168, Note 8, and printed a second time in the *Malone Society Collections*, II, iii, 354-355. The original warrant supplies additional information and reads as follows:

Whereas by virtue of his Ma<sup>tes</sup> *Letteres Patentes* bearing date the 16<sup>th</sup> of Iune 1625 made & graunted in confirmacon of diuerse Warr<sup>tes</sup> and priuy Seales vnto you formerly directed in the time of our late Soueraigne King Iames, you are Authorized (amongst other thinges) to make payment for Playes Acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Queene. Thees are to pray and require you out of his Ma<sup>tes</sup> Treasure in your Charge to pay or cause to be paid vnto Iohn Lowing in the behalfe of himselfe and the rest of his Company his Ma<sup>tes</sup> Players, the somme of two hundred = & sixty poundes, that is to say Twenty poundes a piece for ffoure Playes Acted at Hampton Court, in respect and consideration of the traualle and expences of the whole Company in dyet & Lodging during the time of their Attendance there, And the like somme of Twenty poundes for one other Play which was Acted in the day time at Whitehall, by meanes wherof the Players lost the benefit of their House for that day. And Ten poundes a piece for Sixteene other Playes acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> at Whitehall, amounting in all vnto the somme of Two Hundred and Sixty poundes for One and Twenty Playes his Ma<sup>tes</sup> *Servantes* Acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Queene at seuerall times betweene the 30<sup>th</sup> of September & the 21<sup>th</sup> of Februarie last past, As it may appeare by this Annexed schedule. And Thees together with his Acquittance for the receipt therof shall bee your warrant. Whitehall the 12<sup>th</sup> of March. 1630./

To S<sup>r</sup> William Vuedale Kn<sup>t</sup>.  
[Treasur]er of his Ma<sup>tes</sup> Chamber./

Pembroke & Montgomery.

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The MS, which may be identified as Folger MS. 2068.7,<sup>2</sup> is written in a

<sup>1</sup> The chief difference between the text as printed in the *Variorum Shakespeare* and the *Malone Society Collections* is the omission by the former of the passage, "at Whitehall, amounting in all vnto the somme of Two Hundred and Sixty poundes for One and Twenty playes his Ma<sup>tes</sup> *Servantes* Acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup>," which should follow the words, "acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup>."

<sup>2</sup> According to De Ricci's *Census*, p. 436, the manuscript was "sold by 1905 by Pearson to Marsden J. Perry; obtained (Aug. 1919) [by Mr. Folger] from Rosenbach." In line 8, "sixty" is written over an erasure; possibly "fifty" was the original word. Another erasure corrects the phrase "consideration of their" to "consideration of the" in line 10.

scribal hand on a single leaf of paper. The signature is that of Philip Herbert, the younger of "the most noble and incomparable paire of brethren" to whom the First Folio was dedicated in 1623. Upon the death of the elder brother, William Herbert, Philip inherited his title, and became Earl of Pembroke as well as Earl of Montgomery. He had earlier, on 3 August 1626, succeeded his brother as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

The warrant is addressed to Sir William Uvedale,<sup>3</sup> Treasurer of his Majesty's Chamber. Uvedale, of Wickham, Hants, who is not included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on 17 March 1597/8 at the age of 16.<sup>4</sup> He was admitted to the Middle Temple "at a Parliament holden 21 November, 43 Elizabeth, 1600/1," as of 30 January.<sup>5</sup> He was knighted at Royston on 19 November 1613,<sup>6</sup> and two years later he received the grant, in reversion after Lord Stanhope, of the office of Treasurer of the Chamber,<sup>7</sup> an office he held after Stanhope's resignation in 1616.

The "annexed schedule" which is referred to in the last line is Folger MS 2068.8:<sup>8</sup>

Plays for the Kinge this present year of o <sup>r</sup> Lord God . 1630.	
At Hampton Court	The 30 <sup>th</sup> . of September,      The Inconstant Ladye
	The 3 of October      . Alfonso
	The 17 of October      . Midsomers Night Dreame
	The 24 of October      . The Custome of the Contrie
At the [Co]ck-pitt	The 5 of November,      An Induction for the Howse;
	And The Madd Louer
	The 7 of November      . Rollo
	The 19 of November      . The Fox
	The 28 of November      . Beauty in a Traunce
	The 30 of November      . Beggars Bushe.
	The 9 of December      . The Maids Tragedy
	The 14 of December      . Philaster.
	The 26 of December      . The Duches of Malfy.
	The 27 of December      . The Scornfull Ladie
	The 30 of December      . Chaunces
	The 6 of Ianuarie      . Olde Castle.
	The 3 of Februarie      . The Fatall Wowrie
	The 10 of Februarie      . The Kinge and No Kinge
	The 15 of Februarie      . The merry Devill of Edmonton
	The 17 of Februarie      . Euerie man in's Humo <sup>r</sup>
	The 21 of februarie      Rollo, and the daie at the howse loste.

first & y<sup>e</sup> last double.

<sup>3</sup> There were several men of this name and rank at the court of Elizabeth and James. I have satisfied myself that our Sir William is not the man who was knighted on 9 April 1605 by Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and who in 1613 received a patent of the fines collected from the Irish as penalty for "drawing ploughs and carriages by the horses' tails." It was estimated that this was worth to him in excess of £700 annually, after £100 had been reserved for the King (*C.S.P., Ireland, 1611-1614*, pp. 448-449).

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses . . . 1500-1714*, IV, 1532.





Plays for the Kings this present  
year of o<sup>r</sup> Lord God 1630.

In  
Empton Court

The 30<sup>th</sup> of September. The Inconstant Lelye.  
The 3 of October. Alfonso  
The 17 of October. Midsummers Night's Dreame  
The 24 of October. The Custome of the Countie

In the  
Chappell

The 5 of November. An Induction for the House, And  
the Madde Lover  
The 7 of November. Tollo  
The 19 of November. The Fox  
The 20 of November. Beauty in a Trance  
The 30 of November. Beggers Bushie  
The 9 of December. The Maides Tragedy  
The 19 of December. Philaster  
The 26 of December. The Tuckes of Malby  
The 27 of December. The Scornfull Lady  
The 30 of December. Characters  
The 6 of Januarie. Alls Castle.  
The 3 of Februarie. The Feshall Summe  
The 10 of Februarie. The Kings and No Kings  
The 15 of Februarie. The merry Devil of Edmonton  
The 17 of Februarie. Experienceman in Humour  
The 21 of Februarie. Tollo, and  
the daunce at the Kings house. Lollo.

This manuscript was first printed by Professor Bentley,<sup>9</sup> who hazarded "the conjecture that the Folger MS. is the very schedule which the Lord Chamberlain attached to his warrant." It appears that Bentley overlooked De Ricci's description of MS. 2068.7, the Lord Chamberlain's warrant, which would have resolved his doubts. The two MSS must always have been kept together from the day John Lowin submitted the schedule to the Lord Chamberlain. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the schedule is in John Lowin's<sup>10</sup> handwriting. I take it that the phrase, "first & y<sup>e</sup> last double," which appears to be in a different hand, was added by a clerk in the office of the Lord Chamberlain or of the Treasurer of the Chamber. There seems to have been a little difficulty in making the original computation, for the Lord Chamberlain's scribe first wrote "fifty"<sup>11</sup> where "sixty" now appears. Obviously the performance on 5 November was treated by all concerned as consisting of two plays—cf. Bentley's remarks—for otherwise there are only fifteen plays. This interpretation is validated by the otherwise cryptic remark, "first and y<sup>e</sup> last double."

Lowin's schedule contributes valuable information about the repertory of the King's Men at this time and indicates the taste of the Court. It also helps to date, as Bentley has pointed out, the opening of the Cockpit after extensive alterations had been made to refurbish it.

Comments are in order about several of the plays. This is the only performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* recorded between New Year's Night, 1604, and the autumn of 1631(?).<sup>12</sup> *The Fatal Dowry* by Massinger and Field was first printed in 1632, possibly in consequence of this revival. *The Maid's Tragedy* by Beaumont and Fletcher had been reprinted with a few unimportant alterations in 1630; and *A King and No King* was reprinted in 1631, perhaps because of this performance at the Cockpit. The same may be said of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, which was reprinted in 1631.

One play remains for comment, *Olde Castle*. This is surely not the play which Michael Drayton, Anthony Munday, Robert Wilson, and Richard Hathaway wrote in two parts for the Admiral's Men in 1599 and 1600 as a sharp reply to Shakespeare's *Henry IV*.<sup>13</sup> The Admiral's play passed by 1602 to Worcester's Men, and its later history is untraceable. But the King's Men had every reason for not acquiring it or presenting it at court. We know how difficult it was to efface the memory of the surname originally borne by Sir John, for Rowland White calls Shakespeare's play "Sir John Old Castell" in 1600; Field refers to "the fat Knight, hight Old-castle," in 1618; and the Treasurer of the Chamber's *Declared Account* for 1638–39 lists "ould Castel" as the play per-

<sup>9</sup> Charles T. Martin, ed. and tr., *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple . . . 1501–1603*, II, 2.

<sup>10</sup> William A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, II, 153.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom.*, 1611–18, p. 291 (Vol. LXXXI, July–Sept., 1615).

<sup>12</sup> This, too, is listed by De Ricci, who gives it the same provenance as MS 2068.7.

<sup>13</sup> *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 27–28.

<sup>14</sup> For a full account of Lowin, see Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors*, pp. 238–242.

<sup>15</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>16</sup> See Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, II, 329, 348–352.

<sup>17</sup> It is hardly necessary to rehearse the history of Shakespeare's enforced change of the name of his Fat Knight from "Sir John Oldcastle" to "Sir John Falstaff" because of the offense taken by the Lords Cobham.

formed at the Cockpit on "the prince's berthnyght" in 1638.<sup>14</sup> This last entry was made at the direction of Sir William Uvedale from just such a schedule as that reprinted above, and it reveals that even in Shakespeare's own company in the fourth decade after 1 and 2 *Henry IV* were first performed his fellows thought of the play as *Oldcastle*.<sup>15</sup> Obviously, then, the play which was acted on 6 January 1631 was not the *Oldcastle* of Drayton and the rest but Shakespeare's 1 *Henry IV*.<sup>16</sup>

### *The Folger Shakespeare Library*

<sup>14</sup> William Shakespeare, I, 382; II, 322, 353.

<sup>15</sup> The prevalence of the name "*Oldcastle*" for Shakespeare's play explains why William Jaggard and Thomas Pavier included the Drayton play in their 1619 collection, as was pointed out by E. E. Willoughby in *A Printer of Shakespeare*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>16</sup> Bentley must therefore be in error when he identifies the "*Oldcastle*" of 1631 and 1638 as that written for the Admiral's Men—cf. his *Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, I, 120.

## SHAKESPEARE AT ST. BERNARD'S

By V. E. C. MANDERS

WHILE the drama is a valuable part of modern education, the question arises in what form it is educationally most valuable. Shakespeare is incomparably the highest choice but the plays are not usually attempted before college age. For the young the language may seem obscure, the plots involved, and the humor antiquated. Actually many of the plots are easily understandable; it is not necessary to read into the text more than is obvious, and the characters need no subtlety of portrayal. The difference between right and wrong is clearly drawn, for Good receives its due reward and Evil its just punishment. Shakespeare wrote in an age of faith; robust, fearless and definite; a contrast and a lesson to a modern era that is frail, fearful and indefinite. Unfortunately, early introduction to Shakespeare often consists in the learning of a "set piece": "The Seven Ages," or "To Be or Not To Be," either as a punishment or as rhetoric. Setting Shakespeare as a task does not nurture a love for the Bard of Avon or help to visualize any work of his as a dramatic feast. But Shakespeare can be enjoyed as drama by young boys.

After a successful preliminary production of *The Merchant of Venice* in 1911, St. Bernard's School for Boys in New York City began in 1916 to produce an annual Shakespeare Play, usually at Christmas time, for one night only, in a recognized theatre. This was decidedly adventurous, as no boy is over thirteen and every boy in the graduating class is given some part, irrespective of histrionic ability. That this does not result in a triumph of dramatic art is not important; it does succeed in giving invaluable education and producing whole-hearted team work. "The play's the thing," and every boy enjoys making it so.

Thirty-four years of these productions have built up a unique tradition. It is the custom for alumni in considerable numbers to attend the performances, to crowd the stage during the one long interval, and to encourage their small successors in sounding again the familiar lines. Altogether eleven of the plays have been produced, more or less in cycle. The comedies have been represented by *As You Like It*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *The Tempest*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has been avoided as not appealing to boys of that particular age, too recently graduated from the nursery to view the antics of fairies with anything but a jaundiced eye. It is also something that the girls' schools often choose.

For the same reason *As You Like It* has always been the least popular and consequently the most difficult to render. The wrestling match is all too brief, Touchstone does not seem very funny, and as for Silvius, what can be done with "O Phoebe, Phoebe"? His reward of "a long and well deserved bed" is too inexplicable a compensation to be appreciated. The Robin Hood atmosphere and setting are, however, a redeeming feature. *The Merchant of Venice* is readily enjoyed. Shylock, played with conscious villainy, is entirely understandable; the Court scene is straight drama; even in the beautiful anticlimax of the garden

scene there is fun over the rings; while "O Hell, what have we here?" presents no difficulties. *Twelfth Night* and *The Tempest*—after the long second scene—have plenty of appeal, boys feeling particular sympathy for the character of Caliban. *The Taming of the Shrew* is a joyous riot throughout; anybody can appreciate the horse play.

Of the English and Roman Histories, the less intricate plays have been selected as more suitable for the young. *Richard II* was first given in 1926, before Maurice Evans had astounded New York with his magnificent performance of this long neglected masterpiece. This first performance was unfortunate in that Richard, Bolingbroke and Aumerle all had to be dragged out of sick beds for the occasion, and Richard's nose dripped dismally into his beard throughout the evening. Subsequent performances, helped by recordings of Maurice Evans' splendid diction, have been more than satisfactory. *Henry V* is full of the warlike pageantry dear to the heart of the boy. With the legends of King Arthur and the adventures of Coeur de Lion still vivid in their minds, it is the height of satisfaction to them to strut in armor and rattle the sword with all the gallantry of knights of old, while unconsciously speaking more beautiful sense. *Julius Caesar*, given again in 1949, is also picturesque and requires a large cast with many opportunities. That year the Art Department of the school took in hand the costuming and the settings. Tunics in classic colors were tailored to each individual; the boys made their helmets to fit their own heads and shields of authentic design for the armies. The result was that the mob scenes were an artistic triumph, and helmets did not pop over noses in moments of stress or violent action. This project, which stimulates interest and arouses intelligent cooperation, is a great improvement over the old method of renting costumes which were too large for such small actors.

Tragedies have the greatest appeal but have to be approached with particular care because of problems of production and cutting. Those attempted have been *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*. Of these, *Othello*, in spite of its unsuitable theme, was produced successfully once as an experimental break from routine. *Hamlet* has been given twice, on each occasion when there was available a boy of exceptional talent and some experience able to undertake so exacting a rôle. *Macbeth* has been done on several occasions and was chosen again for Christmas, 1950. Containing battle, murder and mystery enough to satisfy the eager instincts of the young male, it is accepted avidly.

In the early days the school was dependent on the good will of Broadway managers for the lease of a theater for one night and consequently had to wait upon circumstances before knowing just when and where the performance could take place. On one occasion it was the Nora Bayes Theatre, where a musical show was being given, and the temporarily vacated dressing rooms of the girls were a source of amazement and interest somewhat detrimental to serious drama. Another time it was at the Century, where the stage was so enormous that the actors looked minute and, after dying picturesquely on the battlefield, got up and walked off without realizing that the wings were still several feet away. Such incidents have been rare but are entirely understandable when it is considered that only one rehearsal is ever possible on the actual stage and then usually with little scenery and few props. Even the hardest troupers find such



conditions embarrassing. Fortunately boys are enthusiastic and readily adaptive, free from professional temperament.

Subsequently for many years the Children's Theater of the Hecksher Foundation on 105th Street was available. This was especially designed for childrens' plays and was conveniently near the school, but unfortunately it later came into the hands of the City Administration and fell into such neglect and disrepair that it had to be abandoned. A new home was fortunately found in the excellently equipped modern theatre of Hunter College.

These productions early attracted the attention of certain professionals, and the late Mr. Lyl Swete offered a cup for the best individual performance. For the first occasion there was a production of *Twelfth Night*, which Mr. William Faversham and Miss Ethel Barrymore agreed to attend as judges, along with Mr. Swete. It proved to be a stage manager's nightmare. At the last moment the performance had to be given at the Town Hall on a small concert platform without wings, where the actors had to wait for their cues in a deep well at the foot of a stairway. No scenery was allowed, and only a table and a few chairs could be used as props. The hedges behind which the conspirators had carefully practiced their antics had to be left to the imagination and almost everything had to be improvised. Fortunately the young actors were word perfect, adaptable to unaccustomed circumstances, and unperturbed by the august assembly. The performance was good, in fact so good that each of the three judges awarded the prize to a different candidate. This difficulty was finally overcome when the mother of one of the candidates promised an individual cup to all three. To avoid future heartaches the original cup was gratefully placed in honorable retirement.

When the new Shakespeare Theatre was built at Stratford-on-Avon, the boys of St. Bernard's paid their tribute to the Bard by purchasing by subscription a permanent seat in the theatre which now bears the school inscription as a familiar welcome to those who may pay a nostalgic visit to this shrine of the drama.

Surprise is frequently expressed that boys can memorize so many lines, and indeed there are sometimes many lines to learn; but the young learn readily, especially if they are interested, and the principal parts are given as a summer task so that many of the boys returning to the school in the fall have already learned most of their lines. This facilitates rehearsals, which are not allowed to interfere with the regular school curriculum. Difficult passages are carefully explained so that they may be intelligently rendered, and clear diction is insisted upon so that every boy may be heard. There is, moreover, no particular reluctance to undertaking the part of a woman, and if the Ophelias and Lady Macbeths have not reached the heights of Sarah Siddons or Judith Anderson they can probably compare very favorably with the "women" of Shakespeare's day. With voices at the breaking stage and scaffolding in young teeth, problems arise that have to be accepted and solved.

Altogether this is a record and a tradition of which any school may be proud. From a cultural point of view all this is of inestimable value. Boys with such a background may glance through the comics, enjoy the movies, and even laugh at the radio comedians, but they have cultivated a fine sense of values.



A diet of codfish may enhance an appreciation of caviar. Every St. Bernard's boy during his school career can become acquainted with five of the plays and take an active part in at least two of them. This gives the best possible literary background, the best possible dramatic training, and an appreciation of Shakespeare which will increase as wisdom and understanding shall accrue.

*St. Bernard's School, New York City*

## SHAKESPEARE IN TURKEY

By ORHAN BURIAN

WHEN the State Theatre in Ankara, the modern capital of Turkey, opened its season of 1950-1951 with *Hamlet*, it was the fifth time in forty years that the play was being offered to the Turkish public. The first serious production of *Hamlet* had been given in 1911. In those days, when Turkey was still the Ottoman Empire, with Istanbul as its capital, there were no state theaters but only private companies—all formed by enthusiastic lovers of the stage. A few of those showed the iron will to persevere, and not long after the foundation of the Turkish Republic they persuaded the authorities to give Istanbul a Municipal Theatre. It is thanks to that Theatre that Shakespeare has become a household word in Turkey. What is more worthy of notice is that the same Municipal Theatre has established a tradition which must be unique in the recent history of any theater throughout the world (barring, of course, the Stratford Memorial): ever since 1931 it has always opened its season with a new play by Shakespeare. Although the Ankara State Theatre is much younger, it has been no less active in sponsoring Shakespeare. Since its foundation three years ago it has given *Twelfth Night* and *The Comedy of Errors*; and now *Hamlet* is on the bills.

Turkey being happily free from authoritarian ideologies, one might say that these Shakespearian productions are good without being revolutionary in their interpretation. Except for a production of *Julius Caesar* during the war years, which was the work of Carl Ebert of Glyndebourne fame, Shakespeare in Turkey always brings to mind the name of Muhsin Ertugrul. As an actor of twenty it was he who played the first Turkish Hamlet in 1911; as the Director of the Istanbul Municipal Theatre it was he who established the tradition of starting every season with a new Shakespeare play, he himself acting as its producer; and it is now he again who, as the General Director of the Ankara State Theatre, produces this new *Hamlet*, the fifth in his career.<sup>1</sup> True, his production carries no ideological emphasis. But to say this need not imply that it is orthodox or tame. Far from being so, the interpretation is bold and exciting.

To begin with, the production has, true to Elizabethan principles, a single setting: a semi-circular flight of steps that occupies the back of the stage and rises from right to left. Most of the action takes place on the space encircled by it, with hangings occasionally used for decorative purposes. There are some cuts in the text, of course, inevitable when the play has to last only three hours. So Fortinbras is not to be looked for; the play ends with Horatio's words that sing the Prince off with flights of angels to his rest.

Now, where is the excitement? it will be asked. It starts with a revealing *mise-en-scène* just before Act I, scene ii. Horatio, Marcellus, and Bernardo have gone to seek Hamlet and inform him about the Ghost; and the red velvet curtains of the stage are closed. Now from the right appears a startled page holding a round mirror of beaten silver in his hands. He walks backwards;

<sup>1</sup> He has used a different translation for his text each time. The present translation is by the author of this article.

following him is the King, all dressed up for a state occasion. He is giving a final touch to his magnificent robes, and practising the royal look. Then he pats the page, almost voluptuously, and dismisses him. From the left, now, the Queen appears. They meet, embrace, pose for their royal march; the music strikes, the curtains then draw aside, and they advance into the midst of the waiting court, and mount their thrones. For the diehard conservative in matters Shakespearian this may seem anathema. However, one has to admit that the scene is very effective and true to the spirit of the play. Later in the production, one notices that Muhsin Ertugrul has also adopted the Dover Wilson-Granville-Barker theory which makes Hamlet overhear the King and Polonius while the latter proposes to "loose" his daughter to Hamlet.

There are two more *mises-en-scène* which are more provocative by their nature, but no less dramatic for being so. One is in the play scene. The play is to be given at the forefront of the stage. Two stage-hands come and roll out a mattress for the Player King and the Player Queen, and then re-enter with scrolls in their hands and kneel, one at each end of the mattress: they are to act as the prompters. The producer's object becomes manifest when the Players hesitate in speaking certain lines in their parts, and these prompters whisper the words to them. They are the last six lines of the Player Queen's second speech, which is broken up by Hamlet's "Wormwood, wormwood!" They run,

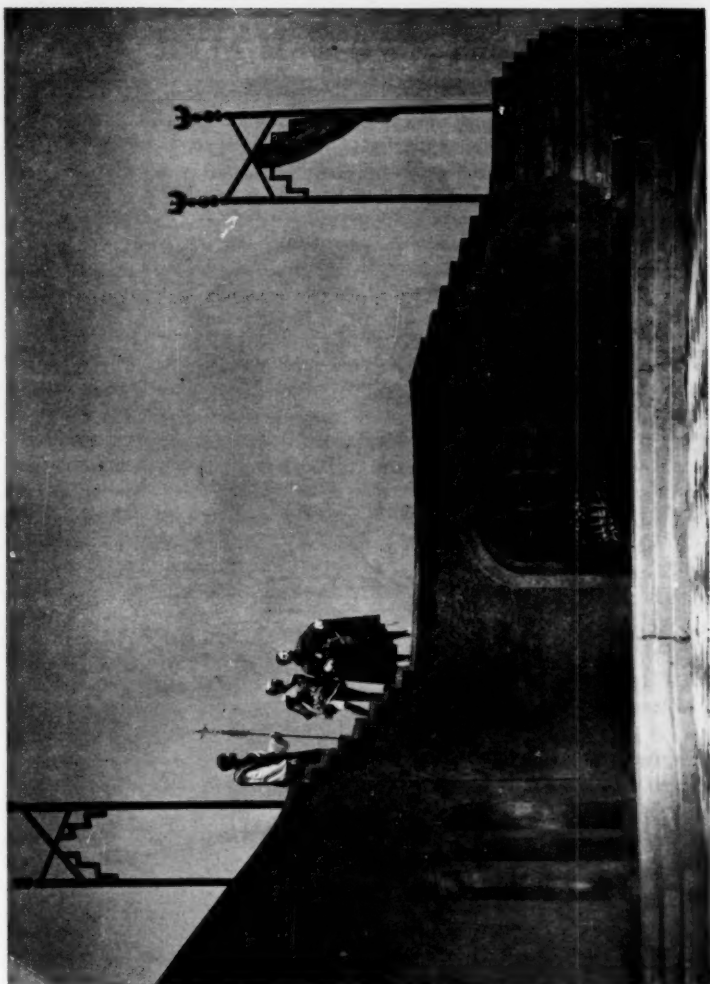
In second husband let me be accurst  
None wed the second but who kill'd the first.  
The instances that second marriage move  
Are base respects of thrift, but none of love:  
A second time I kill my husband dead,  
When second husband kisses me in bed.

There follows the Player King's euphuistic speech about the contrariness of will and fate, ending in the following lines, which again occasion the prompter's help: "So think thou wilt no second husband wed; But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead." Similarly prompted is the next speech of the Player Queen, eight lines abjuring a second marriage. The inference is clear: these must be the "dozen or sixteen lines" added by Hamlet. Knowingly enough, the producer has been bold where he has found the widest scope for surmise.

The next, and last, producer's touch is in the fencing scene. The Queen watches the King drop the "union" into the cup. A puzzled look comes over her face; it gradually grows into one of suspicion. She slowly but quite deliberately approaches and takes the poisoned drink. The mother's instinct in her has, half-suspecting, led her to suicide. But here, I think, the producer's interpretation is much more debatable. Especially considering Hamlet's words, "I dare not drink yet, madam; by and by"; having drunk some of its contents, the Queen must have offered the cup to her son; and she would *not* have done so had she had the least suspicion that the drink was poisoned.

But whether one agrees with the producer a hundred per cent or not, this year's production of *Hamlet* at the State Theatre in Ankara remains highly stimulating.

University of Ankara



A SETTING FOR MUHSIN ERTUGRUL'S PRODUCTION OF *HAMLET*



JULIA MARLOWE (1865-1950)

## JULIA MARLOWE, 1865-1950

ON Sunday, November 12, 1950, death claimed Julia Marlowe, who at her retirement a score of years ago had appeared in Shakespearian rôles more frequently than any other woman in the history of the theater and had played before a larger total audience than any other Shakespearian actor.

Born Sarah Frances Frost in England on August 17, 1865, she came as a child of five to America, where her father had adopted the name of Brough. She appeared on the stage for the first time in Cincinnati at the age of eleven in a juvenile *Pinafore* at \$7 a week. This engagement gave her a professional status, admitted her to performances by Edwin Booth, Joseph Jefferson, Mary Anderson, and Fanny Davenport, and committed her to a theatrical career. Somehow she found fifty cents a week to pay for an edition of Shakespeare, which she began to memorize. No one in the theater could agree on the pronunciation of Brough; so she chose Julia (a name with inescapable Shakespearian associations) and combined with it Marlowe, because it went trippingly on the tongue. When she realized that her juvenile performances had strained her voice, she set about training it systematically to become the instrument for expressing every shade of emotional and intellectual meaning—set about it with the tenacity and vision inherited from her mother, whose motto for her children had been: "Here [in America] you can make yourselves anything you set out to make." The young actress began to have her reward for years of self denial and study when, after a first trial matinee in New York in *Ingomar* in 1887, a reviewer wrote: "Julia Marlowe: Remember her name, for you will hear of her again."

Shakespeare was her first love, though she won fame in *The Sunken Bell*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, and *When Knighthood Was in Flower*. Not even Daniel Frohman could lure her away from the Shakespearian career to which she had dedicated herself. She brought to it a golden voice, a slender, attractive figure, and beautiful eyes in a face which was uncommonly mobile and intelligent; and she played in "a sensible, straightforward manner that convinced the minds and touched the hearts of everybody . . . that had a mind and a heart."

In 1904 Julia Marlowe appeared in Chicago with E. H. Sothorn in *Romeo and Juliet*. Their marriage in 1911 started one of the most famous marital partnerships in stage history. Juliet, Rosalind, Viola, Imogen, Ophelia, and Lady Macbeth were the rôles in which Julia Marlowe achieved the greatest fame, though her Cleopatra at the New Theatre in 1909 is remembered by some as the nearest approach in our time to Shakespeare's enchantress of old Nile.

"It has been a quarter of a century," wrote an editor of the New York *Times* on November 14, "since she finished her last farewell tour, and now there is a generation of theatregoers that may not even know her name. But she belonged with the immortals, and on Sunday at the age of 85, she joined them."



# L V C R E C E.



L O N D O N.

Printed by Richard Field, for Iohn Harrison, and are  
to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound.  
in Paules Church-yard. 1594.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE RAPE OF LUCRECE (1594), QUARTO 1



## REVIEWS

*Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth-Century Drama.* By CLIFFORD LEECH. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. vii + 232. \$3.50.

It is arresting to come upon a critic of Shakespeare's seventeenth-century tragedies, and of the surrounding seventeenth-century dramatic achievement, who is moved to say a good word for Thomas Rymer and who finds that as a critic of *Othello* Rymer is foolhardy but, when it comes to certain essentials, by no means a fool. In *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth-Century Drama* Mr. Leech quotes from Rymer a comment upon the complete lack of justice in the catastrophe that overtakes Desdemona. The comment ends with this question: "Is not this to envenome and sour our spirits, to make us repine and grumble at Providence; and the government of the World? If this be our end, what boots it to be Vertuous?" Mr. Leech is forceful and down-right in what he says of Rymer's implication: "This indeed is the heart of his criticism, rather than his better known but merely abusive description of the play as a 'Bloody Farce'. . . . Rymer realized far more clearly than most critics that *Othello* and Shakespeare's other great tragedies present a view of the world that cannot be reconciled with Christianity."

In fairness it should be said at once that Mr. Leech is a much more rewarding critic than Rymer and does not make any Rymerian demand that tragedy have poetically just rewards for virtue and vice. He is so far from doing so that he finds the very center of tragedy in that picture of the "government of the World" which Rymer deplors. He praises Rymer's perception, not his deploring of the thing perceived.

For Mr. Leech tragedy worthy of the name is incompatible not merely with Christianity but with any view of the universe that shows principles of justice and pity as working, however darkly, to inform the order of which the individual suffering man is part. In tragedy, then, the gods are never kind, though now and then they may lead unwary mankind to think they are. The gaining of wisdom through suffering that is sung by the religious Aeschylus in the choric utterances of the *Agamemnon* is for Mr. Leech not the gift from Zeus to man of the divine power to grow through pain, but something forced on man by a scheme, by a divinity if you will, that is "without pity" in shaping "hard discipline." So, too, the repeated references to divine justice in *King Lear* serve but to make us see at the end of the tragedy how "outrageous" this justice is in seizing on a small fault and inflicting a terrible punishment. "The 'justice' of the gods, as seen in tragedy," says Mr. Leech, "is as terrible as their indifference." If we would see tragedy aright, we must recognize that this is "an indifferent justice" and that it "cares no whit for the individual." Lear's Aeschylean learning through suffering, the regeneration by which the proudly wilful old king comes to know a bond of love uniting him to Cordelia and also a bond of sympathy uniting him to the poverty-stricken unfortunates of the world, apparently does not yield poetically to Mr. Leech a conviction that there can be transmutation of tragic agony.

Obviously Mr. Leech does not recognize what Mr. T. S. Eliot, in *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*, has presented as "the identity of religion and culture," an identity which, as Mr. Eliot says, always remains as a substratum in a civilization, even when a structure comes to be built wherein religion and

culture are contrasted and can be opposed. Mr. Leech sees tragedy as a kind of brave defiance from civilized man thrown in the face of the universe. He does not find it to be a structure which, in ancient Greece and in Gothic Europe alike, is of necessity founded upon religion and grows to contain, with fruitful contrast and opposition, both the old religious faith in world order and the civilized questioning challenge to that order. The frame of tragic theory in *Shakespeare's Tragedies* may thus seem a narrow one to some readers, as it does to the present reviewer. It may seem to be a frame which encloses only the rejection of a containing order by civilized individualism.

But the frame of theory is constructed with skill, and the putting of Shakespearean and other seventeenth-century tragedy into the frame is done most effectively. Not only students of seventeenth-century drama but all readers who are attracted by the form and character of the seventeenth-century contribution to western culture (of whom the number, apparently, still grows apace) will find something worth their while in every chapter of the book. The strong individualism out of which comes the author's idea of tragedy gives him perception for modern individualism in general and for its effects in the English world of the late Renaissance and the Restoration.

The book is a series of ten essays, four of which have appeared in periodicals. Part I is made up of essays entitled "The Implications of Tragedy," "The Tragic Picture," "The Tragic Style," "The Tragic Effect," and "Rymer on *Othello*." It is here that one finds the more integrated development of the author's critical theory. The essays of Part II have some tendency to fall apart but not so much as might at first appear; they are "*Timon* and After," "*The Tempest*," "The Caroline Audience," "Love as a Dramatic Theme," and "Catholic and Protestant Drama" (the last of which brings under consideration "the dominant types of seventeenth-century Spanish plays").

The reader will find that *Shakespeare's Tragedies* can contribute much to his understanding, even if he disagrees with its author on some important matters of interpretation, and he will find that its ideas have weight and staying quality. Something has been said about the character of Mr. Leech's conception of tragedy. It should be mentioned that this conception, which leads him to believe that "the basic tragic response" of suffering man in an incomprehensible universe is "the defiant assertion of personality," also leads him to believe that "the equilibrium of tragedy consists in a balancing of Terror with Pride." It leads him further to make penetrating comments on the "sharp sense of their own being" to be found in Jacobean tragic heroes. Mr. Leech assumes, with justification, that the great years of English tragedy are the first decade of the seventeenth century. Passing beyond this decade he finds manifestations of decay in "the drama of indifference, as in Beaumont and Fletcher," in "the fundamentally unthoughtful drama of Massinger," in "the approach to complete antinomianism in Ford," and elsewhere. He has notable things to say about tragicomedy, about the gulf between comedy and tragedy in the Restoration, and about the drama of sex as a limited drama which fails "to consider man in the whole context of his existence." "Tragedy proper," says Mr. Leech, "disappeared in the Restoration."

WILLARD FARNHAM

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*Shakespeare and Spenser*. By W. B. C. WATKINS. Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. [xii] + 339. \$5.00.

Compared with other forms of national culture unified through religion or other means, the American form is widely diversified. Its merits are revealed, not in production, but in crises, such as war; its main limitation lies in the wide spread or gap between the heights of its excellence and its lower levels, between top and bottom. Detractors have seized their opportunity. Genius has been decried as anti-social; literature and art have been chosen targets; and in literature, at least in our heritage of literature, no poets have been more violently attacked or persistently vilified than Milton and Spenser. Milton, true interpreter and passionate advocate of the liberty that spells freedom of mind and spirit, has been classed with the dodo. Spenser, "the first great poet of *married love*, which has dominated English society and literature ever since the sixteenth century," has been discarded as obsolete and consigned to seminars, and seldom found there. The loss is bitter and ominous.

Mr. Watkins would compensate in part for this loss; still more, he is moved by the desire of "helping his generation" (p. 147). With scholarship focussing on one side on the *Variorum Spenser*, with almost unbounded enthusiasm ("to be inspired or possessed by the god"), with keen, penetrating judgment and fine sensitivity to "poetic qualities and spiritual values" (p. vi), with a style distinguished by clarity, force, and beauty, he has produced "eight autonomous yet closely interwoven essays" (p. vi) which may be read independently but which connect in a main theme on "body and spirit" (p. 197) or the "physical and spiritual" (p. vii), with incidental "variation of dominant themes" (p. vi), such as "melancholy due to the transience of time" (p. vii). Between Shakespeare and Spenser there is close kinship (pp. 43, 62, 67); they "stand together in . . . their treatment of marriage" (p. 198); Spenser is "in the highest sense original" (p. 187), not least in his conception of "high comedy" (pp. 293-304). "Against Time's Ruin," a poignant theme for both, is one of the more excellent essays. The treatment of allegory as "the most important element" in the structure of the *Faerie Queene* (p. 113) is admirable criticism. Compared with Dante, Milton, and some others, Spenser admittedly lacks religious "exaltation" (p. 192); but in the harmonizing of "classical ethics and Christianity" (p. 192), according to Santayana man's ultimate problem, he effects, if not a final, at least a harmonious reconciliation. In "Marriage Song: A Coda," admitting that "It is hard today to appreciate fully the novelty of blending passionate love with marriage" (p. 214), Mr. Watkins gives a reassuring and inspiring interpretation of Spenser's ideas on this important theme. "Spenser's Palace of Art," with liberal quotation of passages, as elsewhere, conforms to its title, with significant comparison with Renaissance painters. This is related to "The Kingdom of Our Language," which illuminates Spenser's poetic vocabulary, imagery, metrics, etc. Spenser should be "read aloud for delight as well as profit" (p. 276).

Since "poetic language is frayed" (p. 292) and we are "in an age increasingly weary of realism and receptive to stylization" (p. 124), Mr. Watkins, who accepts William van O'Connor as "indisputably a voice of our time" (p. 261), allies himself with the Parnassians. Ostensibly, these distinguished essays were made possible through an applied technique. It is not so. Adequate scholarship, wide reading, critical acumen and taste, knowledge of Shakespeare, who becomes the sounding board or measuring rod for Spenser, are the foundation. What is achieved is not through applied technique, but in spite of it. Mr. Wat-

kins' terms are symbolism, stylization, personalizing (now trite and degraded through advertising), and allegory. He declines initially to define these terms (p. 125), only to become entangled in the mesh of his own design (pp. 33, 83 and n, 91n, 98, 114 *et passim*). Minor poets, such as Drayton (p. 84) or Marvell may be amenable; but it has still to be established that in "Shakespeare's Banquet of Sense," for instance—the title is significant—morsels such as *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were "self-consciously" produced or that issues on "current literary modes" can "readily be proved" (p. 5). Genius does not work self-consciously; its guiding principles defy analysis; that is why it is genius. Masfield, with poet's insight, says Shakespeare probably wrote half of *Macbeth* at a sitting, his mind "pure energy." Approximately forty plays in twenty years, with "scarse . . . a blot in his papers," is token. To a friend commending a "particularly lovely" feature in his building, a great architect replied, "I hadn't thought of it." So it was with Michelangelo. Instances are legion.

Essay three on *King Lear* establishes interesting parallels between Richard II and Lear; but "spiritual values" are at times obscured by technique. The text (none is named for Shakespeare) often fails to support assertions. The Fool, who alone in the outstart sees the truth (I. iv. 105ff.) is surely more than "stylized symbolism" (p. 96), with "no character." Kent's advice to Lear (I. i) cannot be strained into "friendly" (p. 77), except possibly in motive. Barrett Wendell's revived Goneril does not fit the text (I. iv. 363-364, Oxford). Lear's "capering in the meadow" (IV. vi) (p. 91) is as false as it is regrettable in form. "Lear's greatness of spirit" (p. 99) is admitted, and the last scene is "the greatest in Shakespearean tragedy" (p. 104); yet in it that masterstroke of genius, beyond all tears, "Pray you, undo this button": ("thank you, sir" is omitted) (V. iii. 311) is degraded into a piece of symbolism with "Off, off, you lendings! Come; unbutton here" (III. iv. 111) (p. 91).

Study in the English Renaissance demands some classical equipment; for Spenser especially, knowledge of Plato, Platonism, Neo-Platonism, Aristotle. Such expressions as "Trailing clouds of neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism" (p. 62; cf. 20, 151, 169, 212n *et passim*) are not reassuring. On Platonism the J. S. Harrison book is quite inadequate. No mention is made of Plotinus; of Plato's *Symposium*, where love is "not merely the feeling usually so called," as Jowett says; of Ficino or his "Commentary" on the *Symposium*, a Spenser handbook, recently translated by Dr. Sears Jayne; of Miss Nesca A. Robb's *Neo-Platonism of the Italian Renaissance*, and other important works. In minor vein, it might be noted that tapestries were not only extensively imported into England in this period but were manufactured there. W. G. Thomson's authoritative work is not mentioned. Since windows were a new glory in the rising architecture, "blue windows" for the eyes may be a conceit only to us.

No writer can bring back the past; none should aim to do so. But he can help to preserve, even restore, for his native culture and his own generation forms of beauty and spiritual value lapsed in service to "man's unconquerable mind," but not destroyed. In his book Mr. Watkins has done us high service; he merits our gratitude.

Format and typography do credit to the Princeton Press.

A. H. R. FAIRCHILD

La Jolla, California

*The Sources of Much Ado about Nothing: A Critical Study, Together with the Text of Peter Beverley's Ariodanto and Ieneura.* By CHARLES T. PROUTY. Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. [viii] + 142. \$2.50.

Never, in all the long history of Shakespeare scholarship, has there been so much intensive study of the plays as is being published during these our own days. Typical is the fact that in 1950 one journal, devoted generally to English literature, gave over more than half its space to articles on this subject.

Fundamentally, all the modern effort dedicated to Shakespeare may be divided into two large sections. The first includes the work of the many writers who seek to explore fresh fields, to bring forward new material from a meticulous scrutiny of the plays themselves or to call attention to aspects of life and literature which might appear to have a bearing on the interpretation of his creative endeavour. The second section, no less important, embraces those contributions which essay to retraverse territory already prospected and partially mapped out. What we have come to realise is that many of the findings of former investigators require to be analysed again, for the purpose both of glean- ing things they may have missed or of considering their discoveries from a different, and perhaps from a more advantageous, viewpoint.

Among such territories especially important is that of Shakespeare's sources. Despite the fact that every year brings forward the announcement of a newly-identified analogue to some plot or situation, we may assume the unlikelihood of any fresh basic and essentially important discoveries in this field: except for a few dramas we can be reasonably sure of the material that Shakespeare had at hand in his study during the process of composition. Yet, although all these earlier works have been pointed out and examined by previous scholars, not only one recent investigator has seen fit to emphasise a patent truth—that this area of exploration, so far from being exhausted, has still much of prime significance to offer us, that often the earlier investigators merely scratched the surface, reaching conclusions either erroneous or manifestly partial. No subject of Shakespearian study is more aptly fitted to give us glimpses into the dramatist's mind, and therefore no pains should be spared in resurveying what at first glance might have been thought to be unprofitable material. Obviously we can no longer rest satisfied with any general conspectus of this subject; instead of one-inch maps we need six-inch; each play demands a complete volume to itself.

Charles Prouty's book on the sources of *Much Ado about Nothing* might here be taken as a model. His emphasis, as he himself states, is "upon the structure, characters and thematic unity of the play rather than on the background," and he decides that "here, as elsewhere, Shakespeare is expressing his reaction to a certain aspect of life." The basic story on which this comedy was founded had a fairly lengthy career, and each tale-teller recast it in his own fashion until Shakespeare came with an entirely fresh orientation. In his hands the romantic lover Claudio is remoulded as a wife-seeker (and even that by proxy) while the trick imposed on him becomes the work, not of a rival, but of a villainous Don John. Observation of these changes immediately has a bearing upon our critical attitude to the comedy:

According to the standards of romantic love Claudio deserves the title of "cad" or "bounder," but unfortunately for those who wish to hurl opprobrium upon him, the plain fact is that Claudio is not a romantic lover and therefore cannot be judged by the artificial standards of literary convention.

By this means, too, Shakespeare leaves himself free to reduce the rôle of Hero—a very necessary device if the somewhat flimsy plot against her is to succeed.

After thus recording and interpreting the alterations in the main plot, Prouty proceeds to show how, given this situation and these characters, the dramatist positively requires a comic counterpart. This comic counterpart, apparently an invention, takes shape in the loves of Beatrice and Benedick, a curst shrew and an anti-matrimonial bachelor.

Prouty's analysis is so detailed that he leaves a reviewer but little to criticise. Perhaps he may be thought to overemphasize a trifle the social background of the characters (a marked tendency among many scholars today) and to minimise the omnipresent power of "nature" which seems to be a recurrent theme in all Shakespeare's comedies, but the fact remains that his analysis is both exact and objective. Undoubtedly he has enabled us the more surely to appreciate the spirit in which the comedy has been penned, and any future efforts at interpretation must be tested by reference to his account of the way in which the romantic narratives available to the dramatist have been completely reshaped.

We must be grateful, also, for the opportunity given to us of reading *The Historie of Ariodanto and Ieneura*, a work preserved in a unique copy at the Henry E. Huntington Library. This is by no means a masterpiece, but its association with Shakespeare's play and the fact that it brings part of the *Orlando Furioso* to England make it of considerable historic importance.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

*The University of Birmingham*

*Elizabethan Narrative Poetry.* By LOUIS R. ZOCCA. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950. Pp. [xiii] + 306. \$5.00.

Because Elizabethan dramas, lyrics, and prose tales have always received more attention than the popular verse narratives of that period, Professor Zocca has attempted to supply needed information and criticism of the neglected *genre*. This he divides into three large groups: historical, romantic, and mythological. Frankly acknowledging that much of the matter under discussion is bare of literary value, he believes it worthy of notice, not only for its contemporary popularity and historical significance, but chiefly as a connecting link between Chaucer's excellent tales and the distinctive work of Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare.

In treating the historical poems Zocca gives most prominence to the "mirror" type, resulting from the marked success of Baldwin's *Mirror for Magistrates*, which was planned for publication in 1554, but not issued till five years later. In this portion of his work Zocca is fortunate in building on the foundations laid by Miss Campbell, to whose definitive editions of the *Mirror* and supplementary articles he gives full credit. Imitations of the *Mirror*, many of them bearing that title, continued for almost half a century. On p. 3 we are told, "The term *mirror* itself was quite elastic. During the Middle Ages it became the English equivalent of the Latin *speculum* and was applied chiefly to religious writings. Gradually it came to signify any written work which pointed out a moral." This last statement raises skepticism.

Verse romances were based largely on Bandello, Boccaccio, and Ariosto. Here the author stresses the influence of Puritanism in rejecting because of their



coarseness the translation or adaptation of many stories from the *Decameron*, yet taking up others no more decorous as a means of satirizing the Roman Catholic clergy. The rise of the middle class, as Wright has indicated, led to a larger reading public with its own tastes, and this directly affected the writing of books geared to public opinion.

"Mythological Narrative Poetry" is another elastic term, applied in this instance to poems derived from Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, and then to the narrations of Lodge, Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Drayton with their followers. Specifically, the caption covers only one poem by Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, to which is applied enlightening criticism. This division of the book, indeed, contains more vital and vigorous comment than any other part, perhaps because the poems treated are so far superior to those enumerated earlier. To Lodge's *Glaucus and Silla*, Marlowe's portion of *Hero and Leander*, and Spenser's *Muiopotmos*, the author gives full commendation, but he is not fond of Chapman's continuation of the Marlowe poem. Imitations of both Marlowe and Shakespeare, he shows, were numerous.

The study covers a wide range of literature, some of it not easily available to modern scholars, but Zocca seems thoroughly familiar with the material and pertinent commentary thereon. Discussion of continental writings of the period and references to French and German critics reveal a similar breadth of learning. One objection to the treatment, however, lies in the author's habit of meticulous classification of all the poems and filing them neatly in the pigeon holes he has created. For example, marking the *Lucrece* as a "mirror" poem is difficult to justify and prevents its consideration along with *Venus and Adonis*, its literary companion. Then we should expect more than a casual reference in one sentence to Warner's *Albion's England*, which by 1602 had gone through five editions and obtained the highest contemporary plaudits. Unfortunately phrased is a sentence on page 215, concerning Golding, translator of the *Metamorphoses*: "If only for making Ovid available to Shakespeare, he deserves unstinted praise." For on page 249 Zocca correctly states that Shakespeare "was familiar with the Latin text of Ovid," which he probably read in school. Again, it is asserted on page 147 that in Beverley's *Ariodanto and Jenevra*, recently edited by Prouty, "Lurcanio beat Jenevra's champion, leaving her liable to punishment"; this appears to be a misinterpretation. An obvious slip of memory accounts for the mention of Miss Spurgeon's notable volume as *Shakespearian Imagery* on pp. 237, 296, and 304, and as *Shakespearean Imagery* on p. 254, in place of its proper title, *Shakespeare's Imagery*. Yet these are venial sins in a compendious yet concise volume, valuable for its information, well printed, and completely indexed.

ROBERT ADGER LAW

*The University of Texas.*

*On the Literary Genetics of Shakspeare's Poems & Sonnets.* By T. W. BALDWIN. University of Illinois Press, 1950. Pp. [xiv] + 399.

Professor Baldwin's latest book, like its predecessors, is a monument of patient research and precise scholarship. Like them, it is also monumental in scale because of its elaborate tracking down of details, so that its use is likely to be confined to specialists in Shakespeare or in his poems. And that is a pity, for it contains much invaluable evidence both of the way in which Elizabethan



poets applied the doctrine of imitation and of the magic by which Shakespeare repeatedly used the same germinal phrases or ideas from other poets and transmuted them at each variation into something better suited to his purpose and intrinsically better poetry. The book is an invaluable example of the insight into Shakespeare's art that can be gained if the student will not only track down sources but also investigate their use.

The chapters on the "literary genetics" of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* are confined primarily to the tracing of sources and comparison of results just described. Once again Professor Baldwin demonstrates the importance of using Renaissance texts of the classics and their annotations, especially in investigating the sources of *Lucrece*. But he also believes that he has identified the theme of *Venus and Adonis*: "Shakespeare developed a Platonic Adonis of Beauty-Love, using a topic-statement from Buchanan" (p. 93): "Cesset amor, pariter cessabunt foedera rerum; *In chaos antiquum cuncta elementa ruent*" (p. 51). Here he is less convincing. One wonders, while reading, whether Shakespeare intended Venus' words to be taken seriously or to be regarded as the sophistic arguments of a lust-driven goddess. Occasionally, too, Professor Baldwin's enthusiasm for his material leads him to trace a connection or make a generalization that the reader finds hard to follow. Why, for example, need the "gentle lark weary of rest" or the lark in the lyric from *Cymbeline* involve "a symbol of the reasonable soul" (pp. 39-40)? Or why is the philosophic idea of chaos involved in Ulysses' speech in *Troilus and Cressida* "not Shakspearean" (p. 58), whereas the Platonic-Ovidian contrast between chaos and love to be found in the poems is? Surely the concept that chaos results from man's rebellion against natural order or "degree" is exemplified in *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Lear*, to mention only the most obvious examples. But a few such details do not seriously detract from the value of two excellent chapters.

The treatment of the sonnets that occupies the major part of the book differs in method in that it attempts not only to trace sources but also to study the pattern of the entire sequence. Professor Baldwin divides the sequence into six series of about twenty-four sonnets each, which he regards as unified within themselves by a dominant theme and interrelated by obvious relationships among these themes. To be judged, his interpretations need to be "lived with" and to be studied longer than it has been possible for the writer yet to do. They obviously merit such study. One feels that Professor Baldwin is most successful in accounting for the weak and middling, rather than for the great, sonnets, but that is as one would expect. One does wish, however, that Professor Baldwin had confined himself less strictly to influences that can be documented with verbal parallels. Surely Shakespeare's treatment of himself and his friend as one identity owes more to traditional discussions of friendship and to contemporary literature than is implied and results less exclusively from the learned doctrine that *anima est tota in toto, et in qualibet parte tota* (p. 159). There is no question that Professor Baldwin is aware of interacting influences, but his method minimizes them. His theory that the "dark lady" sonnets are paradoxical in origin might well have led to comparison with the thesis developed in Professor Lu Emily Pearson's *Elizabethan Love Conventions*, although his position is more cautiously stated and probably easier to maintain.

By no means the least interesting part of Professor Baldwin's book is the evidence that he adduces, by tracing the evolution of themes or images, for dating the poems and especially the sonnets. The latter he dates, on evidence that is certainly much sounder than Professor Hotson's, from 1594-1599. Their

present order he believes to be that of their composition. He regards them as addressed to the Earl of Southampton, and the emphasis upon the identity of the friends as echoing the Wriothesley motto, *Ung par tout, et tout par ung*. He conjectures: "The indications are that Shakspeare wrote one series of sonnets each year to be presented in the spring to Southampton; the first presentation being in the spring of 1594, the others following annually through the spring of 1598, or if the sixth series [CXXVI-CLII] also was intended for the same patronage, which is not probable, I think, through the spring of 1599" (p. 344). The conjecture is interesting; but the book as a whole is far more so.

**VIRGIL K. WHITAKER**  
*Stanford University*

*Shakspeare's Hamlet*. By MAX HUHNER. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Company, [1950].

Pp. [xii] + 163. \$2.75.

Doctor Huhner gives his conclusions on page one: "After several very careful perusals of the subject, the writer has come to the conclusion that Hamlet was neither insane, a fool, nor a villain. Hamlet was a student, inexperienced in the ways of the world, very conscientious, very loath to shed blood, in fact almost a coward in that regard, and his insanity was feigned." So we are to expect nothing startlingly new or challenging. With his sights clearly on the more obvious elements of the play, his conclusions in the main are usual and sensible. He discusses only events and characters so that he does not deal with diction or thought on the one hand, and on the other he does not treat *Hamlet* as a drama—it might as well be a novel.

Much of the book centers on the question of Hamlet's insanity. This and other questions, inherited from nineteenth-century scholarship, do not impress me as vital. For example, he considers, following Tieck, Ophelia's bawdiness evidence that Hamlet had seduced her. And Polonius' maxims, he finds truly beautiful: Shakespeare often at the expense of consistent characterization attributes noble sentiments to lowly or base characters. Such an argument denies the gorgeous irony of a man's saying what is right and being incapable of doing right—which has much to do with the thought of the play.

Although, finally, I like reading about *Hamlet* because I enjoy thinking about *Hamlet*, this book in no way invites me to read and think about the play as does the great exposition of the late J. Q. Adams.

**ALBERT HOWARD CARTER**  
*University of Arkansas*

*The Problem of Henry VIII Reopened: Some Linguistic Criteria for the Two Styles Apparent in the Play*. By A. C. PARTRIDGE with a Foreword by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1949. Pp. 35. 5 s.

This slender book is a substantial contribution to the problem of the shares of Shakespeare and Fletcher in *Henry VIII*. Professor Partridge applies certain linguistic tests, which have grown out of his studies of the syntax and accidence of Ben Jonson's plays, to the text of *Henry VIII* and finds that these tests pro-

vide strong confirmation of the Spedding-Hickson verse tests, not only as to the hypothesis of collaboration, but also in the division of different scenes between the two authors. A decided check is thus given by Professor Partridge to the swing to First Folio authority, so far as the play of *Henry VIII* is concerned.

The linguistic tests applied by Partridge are in part minor points of grammatical usage, in some cases mannerisms of style, through which authors "sign" their work. These variations are such that they may be presumed to elude an attempted deliberate accommodation of styles by authors working in collaboration, or of one author completing or revising the work of another. The grammatical idiosyncrasies studied and tabulated are (1) the expletive auxiliary *do* in affirmative statements, as *I do beseech*, (2) the *-th* ending in third person singular, present indicative, and (3) the colloquial clipping of personal pronouns, as *'em* and *ye* or *y'* for *you*. Shakespeare's preference is for expletive *do*, for *hath* instead of *has*, for *doth* instead of *does*; Fletcher's is for *'em* instead of *them* and *ye* and *y'* instead of *you*. When these linguistic tests are applied respectively to the group of scenes assigned by Spedding and Hickson to Shakespeare and those assigned by them to Fletcher, they confirm the verse test findings of the earlier scholars in varying degrees, but broadly by a preponderance of ten uses to one. For example, in III. ii. up to 203, the point at which Spedding supposes Shakespeare's hand to stop and Fletcher's to begin, twelve uses of the expletive are found, whereas in the following 256 lines, assigned to Fletcher, there is only one. The evidence is an impressive confirmation, scene by scene, of the Spedding-Hickson division. Professor Partridge shows it clearly in tabular form. It is unlikely that the hand of Shakespeare is strictly limited to the whole scenes assigned to him, and it is also probable that Fletcher, as the second writer, needed to make changes in the scenes supplied by Shakespeare. Such intrusions in the separate parts will partly account for the exceptions shown in Partridge's table, and in any case would tend to weaken the arithmetic of linguistic evidence; hence the results secured by Partridge are the more striking.

Partridge draws additional evidence from colloquial contractions such as *in't*, *to't*. Partridge uses W. E. Farnham's material on colloquial contractions as authorship tests, particularly Farnham's demonstration that such contractions are part of essential metrical structure, which of course is evidence that printers tended to follow copy in such matters.

Shakespeare, it has often been noticed, frequently develops his ideas without observing normal syntactical structure. Partridge finds the characteristic syntactical confusion within the Shakespearian scenes but not within those attributed to Fletcher. One feels, however, that in the passage at III. ii. 190-199, chosen by Partridge as an illustration, the broken syntax is perhaps deliberately used to indicate Wolsey's confusion and fear at the King's hostility. Shakespeare, as in *Cressida*'s "pretty abrupts," for example, frequently employs broken syntax for purposes of characterization.

Since linguistic criteria adduced by Partridge tend to confirm the Spedding-Hickson collaboration theory substantially, it is interesting to consider the objections recently argued by Professor Peter Alexander. Alexander has exposed fallacies in the metrical tests used by Spedding and Hickson; doubted that Fletcher would have written Cranmer's eulogy of Queen Elizabeth; and concluded for ascription of the entire play to Shakespeare with the added conjecture that the prologue was not only written, but actually spoken, by Shakespeare, returned to London from his retirement. As to the limitations of metrical tests, one might go some distance with Alexander but still hesitate to adopt his con-

clusion that the distinct styles employed in the parts of *Henry VIII* can be explained as a resource which the dramatist employed to secure variation within unity. And the theory of the Shakespeare première on June 29, 1613, is a conjecture much weakened, as Partridge points out, by the fact that the contemporary allusions to the famous fire, though mentioning the presence of Burbage and Condell, say nothing of Shakespeare. As to Cranmer's final speech, Partridge sees a possibility of Shakespeare's hand at that point, though he feels that Fletcher might just as well have written it; and Partridge also suspects Shakespeare's hand at IV. ii. 1-82.

We are indebted to Partridge, not only for new light on the collaboration in *Henry VIII*, but also for new and promising authorship tests.

DAVID L. PATRICK

University of Arizona

THE  
Tragoedy of Othello,

The Moore of Venice.

*As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the  
Globe, and at the Black-Friers, by  
his Maiesties Seruants.*

*Written by VVilliam Shakespeare.*



*G. Long. B. aton*

L O N D O N,

Printed by N. O. for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his  
shop, at the Eagle and Child, in Brittans Burffe.

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## SHAKESPEARE: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1950

*Edited by* SIDNEY THOMAS

With the collaboration of Prof. G. A. Bonnard, Univ. of Lausanne, Switzerland; Prof. Karl Brunner, Univ. of Innsbruck, Austria; Prof. Orhan Burian, Univ. of Ankara, Turkey; Prof. Wolfgang Clemen, Univ. of Munich, Germany; M. Robert de Smet, Brussels, Belgium; Prof. Arnold Edinborough, Queen's Univ., Kingston, Canada; Prof. P. N. U. Harting, Univ. of Amsterdam, The Netherlands; Prof. Pierre Legouis, Univ. of Lyons, France; Mr. Mogens Müllertz, Copenhagen, Denmark; Prof. A. C. Partridge, Univ. of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa; Dr. Kristian Smidt, Univ. of Oslo, Norway.

THE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. Such items, however, as journalistic reviews of productions or books, or brief popular articles, have generally been omitted. New printings of previously issued editions or studies are not listed unless there has been substantial revision or expansion. An exception to this rule has been made for foreign countries, where re-issues of editions and translations are significant indications of a continuing interest in Shakespeare. All reviews have been grouped under the books they deal with, even if these books have been included in previous bibliographies. In such instances, however, the description of the book has been given in short form. The year 1950 is always to be understood, if no other year is specifically mentioned.

The annotations are designed to indicate the subject-matter or argument of the items listed. In no sense are they intended as criticisms of the books or articles which they explain. Certain significant articles are not annotated because their titles sufficiently indicate their content. The length of the annotation is also no guide to the importance of the item. Several items are listed without annotation because they have not yet become available here.

The editor wishes to thank the members of the staffs of the Queens College Library, the Columbia University Library, and the New York Public Library for their many courtesies. Dr. Herman T. Radin of New York City has generously submitted his own independent listing of many items. The distinguished scholars from many countries who have cooperated in the preparation of this bibliography have contributed greatly towards broadening its scope and increasing its usefulness.

The editor would appreciate receiving copies of books, and offprints of articles and reviews dealing with Shakespeare, in order to insure as complete a coverage of the field as possible.



The following abbreviations have been regularly used:

C.E. — College English	PMLA — Publications of the Modern Language Association
ELH — English Literary History	P.Q. — Philological Quarterly
H.L.Q. — Huntington Library Quarterly	R.E.S. — Review of English Studies
J.E.G.P. — Journal of English and Germanic Philology	S.B. — Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of Va.
M.L.N. — Modern Language Notes	S.P. — Studies in Philology
M.L.Q. — Modern Language Quarterly	S.Q. — Shakespeare Quarterly
M.L.R. — Modern Language Review	S.S. — Shakespeare Survey
M.P. — Modern Philology	T.L.S. — Times Literary Supplement
N. & Q. — Notes and Queries	

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9. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *S.S.*, I. Cambridge University Press, 1948.  
Rev. by J. M. Nosworthy in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 70-72.
10. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *S.S.*, II. Cambridge University Press, 1949.  
Rev. by André Koszul in *Les Langues Modernes*, Mars-Avril, 121-122.
11. Nicoll, Allardyce (ed.). *S.S.*, III. Cambridge University Press. Pp. viii + 167.  
Rev. in *T.L.S.*, June 9, p. 352.
12. Sisson, Charles J. "Studies in the Life and Environment of Shakespeare since 1900," *S.S.*, III, 1-12.
13. Talbert, E. W. (ed.). "Recent Literature of the Renaissance," *S.P.*, XLVII, 245-449.  
Sh. bibliography for 1949 on pp. 286-304.
14. Tannenbaum, S. A. and D. R. *Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet (a Concise Bibliography)*. Elizabethan Bibliographies No. 41. Pp. 133.
15. Thomas, Sidney (ed.). "Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1949," *S. Q.*, I, 97-120.



## COLLECTIONS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS

16. *Dramatische Werke* (German translation by Schlegel and Tieck). Baden-Vienna: Buchgemeinschaft der Klassiker Verlagsgesellschaft m.b.H.  
Now complete in 9 vols.
17. *Ausgewählte Werke* (hrsg. und eingel. von Oskar Rühle). Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
18. *Komödien* (translated into German by Ludwig Tieck). Vienna: Ullstein, 1949.
19. *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by J. Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge University Press. Pp. xlvii + 262.  
Rev. in *T.L.S.*, Dec. 29, p. 830.
20. *Antonius ile Kleopatra* (*Antony and Cleopatra*, translated into Turkish by Saffet Korkut). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. P. xvi + 161.
21. *As You Like It* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Lindau: Apollo Verlag, 1948. Pp. 95.
22. *Beğendiğiniz gibi* (*As You Like It*, translated into Turkish by Orhan Burian). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1943. Pp. 134.
23. *Yanlışlıklar komediası* (*The Comedy of Errors*, translated into Turkish by Avni Givda). Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943. Pp. 94.
24. *Hamlet* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Stuttgart: Reclam. Pp. 115.
25. *Hamlet* (translated into Turkish by Orhan Burian). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 179.
26. *Henry VIII* (translated into Turkish by Belkis Boyar). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim basımevi, 1947. Pp. 136.
27. *Julius Caesar* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Lindau: Apollo Verlag, 1948. Pp. 64. Stuttgart: Reclam. Pp. 80.
28. *Julius Caesar* (translated into Turkish by Nureddin Sevin). Istanbul: Maarif matbaası, 1942. Pp. 252.
29. *King Lear* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Stuttgart: Reclam.
30. *Macbeth* (translated into Dutch by Nico van Suchtelen). Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek. Pp. 92.
31. *Macbeth* (translated into Turkish by Orhan Burian). Ankara: Milli Eğitim basımevi, 1946. Pp. 102.
32. *Measure for Measure* (translated into German by Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin). Leipzig: Reclam, 1948. Pp. 96.
33. *Venedik taciri* (*The Merchant of Venice*, translated into Turkish by Nureddin Sevin). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1943. Pp. xiv + 305.
34. *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (German translation edited by Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin). Leipzig: Reclam, 1949. Pp. 87.
35. *Windsor'un sen kadınları* (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, translated into Turkish by Haldun Derin). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim basımevi, 1945. Pp. 131.
36. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Lindau: Apollo Verlag, 1947. Pp. 64. Stuttgart: Reclam. Pp. 64. Offenburg: Lehrmittel Verlag, 1947. Pp. 88.
37. *Bir yaz dönümü gecesi rüyasi* (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, translated into Turkish by Nureddin Sevin). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 96.
38. *Kuru gürlütu* (*Much Ado About Nothing*, translated into Turkish by Hâmit Dereli). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 136.
39. *Othello* (German translation edited by Wolf Heinrich Graf Baudissin). Stuttgart: Reclam. Pp. 103.
40. *Othello* (translated into Turkish by Orhan Burian). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1943. Pp. 166.
41. *Richard III* (translated into German). Lindau: Apollo Verlag, 1948. Pp. 110.

42. *Richard III* (translated into Turkish by Berna Moran). Istanbul: Millî Eğitim basımevi, 1947. Pp. 172.
43. *Romeo and Juliet. Second Quarto, 1599.* Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 6. London: The Shakespeare Association and Sidgwick and Jackson, 1949. Pp. 100.  
Contains a prefatory note by W. W. Greg.
44. *Romeo and Juliet.* London: Folio Society. Pp. 132, 12 color plates by Jean Hugo.  
Introduction by N. Coghill.
45. *Romeo and Juliet* (translated into German by A. W. Schlegel). Lindau: Apollo Verlag, 1947. Pp. 93. Leipzig: Reclam, 1948. Pp. 88. Stuttgart: Reclam. Pp. 88.
46. *Romeo and Juliet* (translated into Turkish by Yusuf Mardin). Istanbul: İbrahim Horoz basımevi, 1945. Pp. 168.
47. *Sonnets.* New Variorum, edited by H. E. Rollins. Philadelphia, 1944.  
Rev. by F. T. Prince in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 255-258.
48. *Thorpe's Edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609. An Explanatory Introduction by C. Longworth de Chambrun.* Aldington, Kent: Hand and Flower Press.  
Identifies the patron as the Earl of Southampton and rearranges the Sonnets, purposely printed in the wrong order in 1609.
49. *Sonnet CXXIX* (translated into Dutch by H.W.J.M. Keuls). Utrecht: *De Gids*, Vol. 113, p. 97.
50. *Hircin kız (The Taming of the Shrew)*, translated into Turkish by Nureddin Sevin). Istanbul: Millî Eğitim basımevi, 1946. Pp. 127.
51. *Firtina (The Tempest)*, translated into Turkish by Haldun Derin). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 103.
52. *Atinali Timon (Timon of Athens)*, translated into Turkish by Orhan Burian). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 121.
53. *Titus Andronicus*, edited by J. Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge University Press, 1948.  
Rev. by A. Koszul in *English Studies*, XXXI, 182-183; by R. C. Bald in *M.L.R.*, XLV, 240-241.
54. *Onikinci gece (Twelfth Night)*, translated into Turkish by Avni Givda). Istanbul: Millî Eğitim basımevi, 1946. Pp. 125.
55. *Veronali iki centilmen (Two Gentlemen of Verona)*, translated into Turkish by Avni Givda). Ankara: Maarif matbaası, 1944. Pp. 106.

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO SHAKESPEARE

56. Abend, Murray. "Some Biblical Influences in Shakespeare's Plays," *N. & Q.*, Dec. 23, pp. 554-558.  
Lists a number of previously unnoted Biblical quotations, references, and echoes in Sh.
57. Abend, Murray. "Two Unique Gender Forms in the Shakespeare Sonnets," *N. & Q.*, July 22, p. 325.  
April and summer personified as masculine.
58. Allen, Don Cameron. "Three Notes on Donne's Poetry with a Side Glance at *Othello*," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 102-106.  
Suggests that the idea of the crystallization of the world by the fire of the Last Judgment may have influenced Sh.'s imagery in *Othello*.
59. Altman, George J. "Good Advice from the 'Bad' Hamlet Quarto," *Educational Theatre Journal*, II (December), 308-318.  
Suggests that Q1 of *Hamlet*, as a report of an actual performance of the play, is, in many instances, a better guide to the staging of the play than either Q2 or the Folio.

60. Annan, N. G. "The Marlowe Society Tradition," *Cambridge Journal*, III, 592-612.  
Argues for Sh. productions which will emphasize the proper speaking of the poetry.
61. Ashe, Geoffrey. "Several Worthies," *N. & Q.*, Nov. 11, pp. 492-493.  
Finds in this phrase from *L.L.L.*, IV. iii. 251, an anagram of H. WRIOTESLEUS EARL.
62. Ashe, Geoffrey. "William Strachey," *N. & Q.*, Nov. 25, pp. 508-511.  
Suggests that Strachey, whose letter about the Bermudas shipwreck is regarded as one of the sources of *The Tempest*, was a personal friend of Sh. Guesses that Strachey collaborated with Jonson in the writing of *Sejanus*.
63. Atthill, Robin. "Virgin Crants," *English*, VII (1949), 202-203.  
Discusses *Hamlet*, V. i. 225.
64. Aylward, J. D. "Saviolo's Ghost," *N. & Q.*, May 27, pp. 226-229.  
Suggests that Saviolo's treatise on fencing was ghost-written by John Florio.
65. B., W. G. "Macbeth at Windsor in 1829," *N. & Q.*, Oct. 28, p. 473.  
Records an impromptu change of text by an actor.
66. Babcock, R. W. "George Lyman Kittredge, Olivier, and the Historical Hamlet," *C.E.*, XI, 256-265.  
Olivier's acting in the film seen as in the tradition of an "active" Hamlet, as taught by Kittredge.
67. Bald, R. C. "Editorial Problems—A Preliminary Survey," *S.B.*, III, 3-17.  
Emphasizes the importance of careful attention to textual matters by editors and critics, and discusses in this connection two recent textbook editions of Sh.
68. Baldwin, T. W. *On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems and Sonnets*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Pp. xi + 399.  
Finds Ovid the major source, for literary materials and as a model of style, of the sonnets and poems. Other grammar school authors, such as Virgil, Lactantius, and Cicero, also influential. "The bulk, and presumably all, of these surviving sonnets was written from about 1593 to about 1599." Southampton identified as the patron to whom most of the sonnets, as well as the poems, were addressed.
69. Baldwin, T. W. "Shakspeare's Aphthonian Man," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 111-112.  
Sh.'s "ideal man" based upon section from Aphthonius.
70. Barnard, E. A. B. "Shakespeare and Shylock," *T.L.S.*, May 12, p. 293.  
Calls attention to a grant in 1586 to Roderigo Lopez of property 12 miles distant from Stratford.
71. Barnett, John E. "The Merchant of Venice at the University of Kansas City," *S.Q.*, I, 269-271.  
See also note by R. M. Smith in *S.Q.*, I, 293-295.
72. Beckers, Gunther. *Die kausative Kraft des Adjektivums in Shakespeares Sprachgebrauch*. Philos. Fak. der Univ. Marburg, 1947. Pp. 94.  
Unpublished dissertation.
73. Berkeley, David S. "Antony, Cleopatra, and Proculeius," *N. & Q.*, Dec. 9, pp. 534-535.  
Antony's advice to Cleopatra concerning Proculeius proved treacherous by events.
74. Bethell, S. L. "Shakespeare's Actors," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 193-205.  
After a critical consideration of various points made by Baldwin, Harbage, and others, concludes that "acting, like the drama itself, was in a mixture of styles."
75. Bing, Just. "Veien til Hamlet," *Edda* (Oslo), I, 39-55.  
The mood of *Hamlet* and the other great tragedies inspired by painful events in Sh.'s life.

76. Bogorad, Samuel N. "1 King Henry the Fourth, II, iv, 315 ff.," *S.Q.*, I, 76-77.
- Prince Hal's reference to his dead mother not a tampering with historical fact by Sh., but intended to convey specific meaning.
- Comment by Thomas D. Bowman, I, 295.
77. Boas, Frederick S. *Queen Elizabeth in Drama and Related Studies*. London: George Allen & Unwin. Pp. 212.
- Includes an essay, "Aspects of Shakespeare's Reading" (pp. 56-71), not previously published, which gives a general outline of Sh.'s sources, stating the opinion, *inter alia*, that "Ovid was known mainly to Shakespeare in translation."
78. Bonjour, Adrien. "Le Problème du Héros et la Structure du Roi Jean de Shakespeare," *Etudes de Lettres* (Lausanne), XXIII, 3-15.
- Studying *King John* as a remodeling of *The Troublesome Raigne*, Bonjour shows that its structure is based on the gradual decline of the King and on the gradual assertion of the Bastard: "la courbe de la carrière du roi Jean est descendante, celle de Faulconbridge est ascendante, et toutes deux sont fonctions l'une de l'autre. C'est bien ce qui confère au drame sa structure à la fois simple et remarquablement équilibrée."
79. Boswell, James. *London Journal, 1762-1763* (edited by Frederick A. Pottle). New York: McGraw-Hill. Pp. xxix + 370.
- Reports "a most ingenious dissertation on the character of Hamlet" by Thomas Sheridan, in conversation with Boswell and others, April 6, 1763 (pp. 234-235). Probably the first recorded statement in detail of the theory of Hamlet as an irresolute intellectual, shrinking from an unwelcome task.
- Also contains remarks by Sheridan on 2 *Henry IV* (pp. 135-136), criticizing Garrick's performance, and references to Garrick's playing of *Henry IV* and *Lear* (pp. 134-256).
80. Bowers, Fredson. "Current Theories of Copy-Text, with an Illustration from Dryden," *M.P.*, XLVIII, 12-20.
- Discusses matters pertinent to the editing of Sh.
81. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia*. Vol. I. Charlottesville: 1948.
- Rev. by W. W. Greg in *M.L.R.*, XLV, 76.
82. Bowers, Fredson. *Principles of Bibliographical Description*. Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xviii + 505.
- Of particular interest and importance for the editors of old texts, including the works of Sh.
83. Bowers, Fredson. "Some Relations of Bibliography to Editorial Problems," *S.B.*, III, 37-62.
- Emphasizes the need for a thorough knowledge of bibliography by the editor of old texts. Certain specific references to Sh. texts.
84. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. II. Charlottesville: 1949.
- Rev. by W. H. Bond in *S.Q.*, I, 95-96.
85. Bradbrook, M. C. "Lucrece and Othello," *T.L.S.*, Oct. 27, p. 677.
- Suggests that Sh. derived the image of a "perfect Chrisolite" from Middleton's *The Ghost of Lucrece*.
86. Bradford, M. C. "Virtue Is the True Nobility. A Study of the Structure of *All's Well that Ends Well*," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 289-301.
- All's Well* a failure as a play, because Sh. is trying to write a moral play, yet does not have the complete detachment necessary for the attempt. The play "a study of the question of 'Wherein lies true honour and nobility?'"
87. Brennecke, Ernest. "All Kinds of Shakespeares," *S.Q.*, I, 272-280.
- Discusses recent biographies of Sh.

88. Bromberg, Murray. "The Reputation of Philip Henslowe," *S.Q.*, I, 135-139.  
Argues that Fenerator Bee in Day's *Parliament of Bees* is not Henslowe. Mentions connection of Henslowe with some of Sh.'s early plays, and argues against harsh opinion of Henslowe expressed by certain biographers of Sh.
89. Bühler, Curt E., James G. McManaway, and Lawrence C. Wroth. *Standards of Bibliographical Description*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.  
Contains three separate papers, of which the one by J. G. McManaway discusses the bibliography of English literature from 1475 to 1700, with specific references to problems relating to the works of Sh.
90. Burian, Orhan. "Tercümeçi Gözüyle Hamlet" ("Hamlet from the Viewpoint of Translators"), *Devlet Tiyatrosu* (Ankara), I, 5, Oct., 3-6.  
Comparing some five or six translations of the play into Turkish during the period 1908-1950, and considering certain traps in the text especially dangerous for translators, concludes that a standard translation is still to come.
91. Byrne, Muriel St. Clare. "A Stratford Production: *Henry VIII*," *S.S.*, III, 120-129.
92. Capocci, Valentina. *Genio e Mestiere: Shakespeare e la Commedia dell'Arte*. Bari: Laterza.
93. Carrère, Félix. *Arden de Feversham* (étude critique, traduction et notes). Paris: Aubier, Editions Moutaigne. Pp. 245.  
The introduction tries to prove that this play is the work of Thomas Kyd. It also tries to assess the literary and dramatic quality of the play.
94. Carrère, Félix. "L'Imagination dans le Théâtre de Shakespeare," *Les Langues Modernes*, Mars-Avril, pp. 100-113.  
Imagination can be destructive, as in *T. & C.*, *J. C.*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and, most of all, *Othello*. But it is also constructive as in *M. N. D.*, *The Tempest*. The true human heroes are not the protagonists but minor characters like Macduff, Edgar, Horatio, as Hamlet confesses (III. ii. 68-79).
95. Carrère, Félix. "Le Surnaturel dans *La Tempête*," *Les Langues Modernes*, Juillet-Aôut, pp. 252-257.  
The tempest in the play is of the same nature as that which shakes the world today, and the supernatural elements have been used by Shakespeare only to reveal the profound and eternal realities of the human condition.
96. Cauthen, I. B., Jr. "The Twelfth Day of December: *Twelfth Night*, II. iii. 91," *S.B.*, II (1949), 182-185.
97. Chapman, Raymond. "The Wheel of Fortune in Shakespeare's Historical Plays," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 1-7.  
Sh.'s histories "dramatic versions of the medieval theme of the fall of kings." Fortune's ever-turning wheel "the pattern which lies beneath Shakespeare's history-plays."
98. Charlton, H. B. *Shakespearian Tragedy*. Cambridge: 1948.  
Rev. by M. E. Prior in *MLN.*, LXV, 560-562; by J. H. P. Pafford in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 163-166.
99. Cherix, Pierre. "L'Evolution de la Pensée de Shakespeare; la Thèse de Max Deutschbein," *Etudes de Lettres*, XXIII, 16-27.  
A critical survey of Deutschbein's ideas as developed in his articles contributed to the *Sh. Jahrbuch*, and in his 1936 book on *Macbeth*. According to Cherix, D. has lent Sh. his own spiritual evolution.
100. Chute, Marchette. "Chaucer and Shakespeare," *C.E.*, XI, 15-19.  
Notes certain likenesses in the characters and careers of the two writers.
101. Chute, Marchette. *Shakespeare of London*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1949. Pp. xii + 397.  
A popular biography, emphasizing

- Sh.'s career as actor and theatrical craftsman, and omitting any attempt at literary criticism. Rev. by O. J. Campbell in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, Apr. 1, pp. 13-14.
102. Coghill, Nevill. "The Basis of Shakespearian Comedy," *Essays and Studies*, New Series, Vol. III (ed. by G. R. Hamilton). London: John Murray. Pp. 1-28.
103. Conklin, Paul S. *A History of Hamlet Criticism, 1601-1821*. New York: 1947.  
Rev. by Claude M. Newlin in *M.L.Q.*, XI, 108-109.
104. Connolly, Thomas F. "Shakespeare and the Double Man," *S.Q.*, I, 30-35.  
Tragic hero in Sh. always given an alter ego. In *Hamlet*, this alter ego is H.'s "own mad side."
105. Cooper, Duff. *Sergeant Shakespeare*. London: 1949.  
Rev. by Donald A. Stauffer in *S.Q.*, I, 89-90; by Esther C. Dunn in *Sat. Rev. of Lit.*, Apr. 1, p. 15.
106. Cordasco, Francesco. *Don Adriano de Armado of Love's Labour's Lost*. Bologna. Pp. 6.
107. Cormican, L. A. "Medieval Idiom in Shakespeare: (1) Shakespeare and the Liturgy," *Scrutiny*, XVII, 186-202.  
Suggests that "the new depth, pliability and range which Shakespeare's style achieves about 1600 results to a great extent from an increased power to make effective dramatic use of a number of medieval convictions and attitudes." Argues that Sh.'s "mature idiom resembles that of Hebrew."
108. Craig, Hardin. *An Interpretation of Shakespeare*. New York, 1948.  
Rev. by Una Ellis-Fermor in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 259-260.
109. Craig, Hardin. "Morality Plays and Elizabethan Drama," *S.Q.*, I, 64-72.  
Discusses origin and history of morality play. Emphasizes influence of form on Eliz. drama in general and Sh.'s tragedies in particular, esp. *Macbeth*.
110. Crinò, Anna Maria. *Le Traduzioni di Shakespeare in Italia nel settecento*. Rome: Ed. di Storia e Lett. Pp. 117.
111. Cunningham, J. V. "Tragedy" in Shakespeare," *ELH*, XVII, 36-46.  
Tragedy, to Sh., is violent death. The tragedy of *Hamlet* is its concluding holocaust.
112. D., A. "Henry IV Part Two and the Homily Against Drunkenness," *N. & Q.*, Apr. 15, pp. 160-162.  
Suggests the influence of this Homily on Sh.'s conception of Falstaff.
113. Danks, K. B. "'An Implication of Bibliographical Links,'" *N. & Q.*, Feb. 18, pp. 73-74.  
Argues that because Q2 of *Hamlet* is related to Q1 by bibliographical links, Q2 text is related to the copy for Q1.
114. Dawson, Giles E. "Who Wrote Shakespeare?" *The Listener*, XLIV, Aug. 10, 195-196.  
Refutes the arguments of the anti-Stratfordians.
115. De Smet, Robert. "Othello in Paris and Brussels," *S.S.*, III, 98-106.  
A survey of productions from the eighteenth century to the present.
116. Disher, M. Willson. "The Trend of Shakespeare's Thought," *T.L.S.*, Oct. 20, p. 668; Oct. 27, p. 684; Nov. 3, p. 700.  
Argues for the dominant influence of Sidney's *Arcadia* on Sh.'s thought, and his *Astrophel and Stella* on Sh.'s poetic practice. Reinstates Mary Fitton as "the dark lady." Identifies "the rival poet" as Spenser.  
Comment by J. Middleton Murry, Nov. 17, p. 727; by A. S. Cairncross, Dec. 1, p. 767; by Lynette Feasey, Dec. 8, p. 785.
117. Dodson, Sarah. "Notes on the Earthquake in *Romeo and Juliet*," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 144.



- Comments on article by Sidney Thomas in *MLN.*, LXIV, 417-419.
118. Draper, John W. "Patterns of Tempo in *Richard III*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, L (1949), 1-12.
119. Duncan, Edward. "Unsubstantial Father: A Study of the *Hamlet* Symbolism in Joyce's *Ulysses*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XIX, 126-140.
120. Duthie, G. I. *Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of King Lear*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Pp. iv + 82.  
 Argues that while Q1 of *Lear* is certainly a reported text, no system of shorthand used in 1608 could have produced so "good" a version of a stage performance.
121. Eardley-Wilmot, H. "*Coriolanus*," *T.L.S.*, Oct. 13, p. 645.  
 Suggests that III. i. 304-306, should be spoken by Sicinius, rather than Menenius.  
 Comment by A. P. Rossiter, Oct. 20, p. 661.
122. Eastman, Arthur M. "Johnson's Shakespeare and the Laity: A Textual Study," *PMLA*, LXV, 1112-1121.  
 Calls attention to the great number of textual changes made by Johnson, and argues that these were mainly introduced for clarity and the convenience of the untrained reader.
123. Eastman, Arthur M. "The Texts from Which Johnson Printed His Shakespeare," *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 182-191.  
 Johnson's text based both on Warburton and Theobald. His choice of one or the other for specific plays or passages based simply on expediency.
124. Eliot, T. S. "Shakespeares Verskunst," *Der Monat*, No. 20 (May), 198-207.  
 First appearance, in German or English, of an essay on Sh.'s poetic art.
125. Ellis-Fermor, Una. *Shakespeare the Dramatist*. London, 1948.  
 Rev. by J. H. Pafford in *RES.*, New Series, I, 166.
126. Elton, William. "Timothy Bright and Shakespeare's Seeds of Nature," *MLN.*, LXV, 196-197.
127. Evans, Bertrand. "The Brevity of Friar Laurence," *PMLA*, LXV, 841-865.  
 Discusses in detail two supposed dramatic flaws in *Romeo and Juliet*: the accidental detention of Friar John, and Friar Laurence's speech of explanation at the end. Argues that these two features contribute to the effectiveness of the play as "a tragedy of unawareness."
128. Farnham, Willard. *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier: The World of His Final Tragedies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pp. 289.  
*Timon, Macbeth, A. & C.*, and *Coriolanus* as tragedies centering around paradoxically noble heroes, "rare spirits deeply tainted."  
 Rev. by T. M. Parrott in *S.Q.*, I, 281-285.
129. Fatout, Paul. "Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, II, ii, 40," *Explicator*, Vol. IX, No. 3 (December).  
 Comments on meaning of "great nature's second course."
130. Felheim, Marvin. "The Problem of Time in *Julius Caesar*," *H.L.Q.*, XIII, 399-405.
131. Fergusson, Francis. *The Idea of a Theatre*. Princeton University Press. Pp. x + 239.  
 Includes previously published study of *Hamlet*.  
 Rev. by H. W. Wells in *S.Q.*, I, 44-46. Comment by James W. Andrews ("The Idea of a Theatre: A Reply") I, 185-188. Further comment by H. W. Wells ("A Reply to James W. Andrews") I, 189-190.
132. Figueiredo, Fidelino de "Shakespeare e Garrett," *Boletín de la Academia Argentina de Letras*, XVIII (October-December, 1949), 485-549.
133. Fischer, Walther P. "King Lear at Tuebingen: Johannes Naclerus and Geoffrey of Monmouth," *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (ed. by T. A. Kirby and H. B.



- Woolf), Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1949), 208-227.
- Reprints and compares versions of the Lear story in Geoffrey and the *Universal History* of Nauclerus.
134. Flatter, Richard. *Hamlet's Father*. London: 1949.
- Rev. by E. E. Stoll in *S.Q.*, I, 36-43.
135. Flatter, Richard. *The Moor of Venice*. London: William Heinemann. Pp. x + 225.
- Iago motivated by "a passion so overwhelmingly powerful that it leads irresistibly to action: his craze for play-acting." Othello's emotion at the end one of happiness and relief because he has regained his trust in his wife and his faith in goodness.
- Rev. in *T.L.S.*, May 5, p. 278.
136. Flatter, Richard. *Shakespeare's Producing Hand*. New York, 1948.
- Rev. by Fredson Bowers in *M.P.* XLVIII, 64-68; by Charlton Hinman in *M.L.N.*, LXV, 558-560; by Peter Alexander in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 66-70.
137. Foppema, Yge. "Shakespeare in het Fries," *Vry Nederland* (Amsterdam), Aug. 12.
- On translating Sh. into Frisian.
138. Friden, Georg. *Studies on the Tenses of the English Verb from Chaucer to Shakespeare, with Special Reference to the Late Sixteenth Century*. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1948.
- Rev. by S. Potter in *M.L.R.*, XLV, 77-8; by S. M. Kuhn in *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 104-106; by James Sledd in *M.P.*, XLVII, 208-209.
139. Fronius, Hans. *Zeichnungen um Shakespeare*. Vienna-Linz: Gurlitt Verlag.
- Eight lithographs on Sh. and the Globe Theatre.
140. Gibian, George. "Pushkin's Parody on *The Rape of Lucrece*," *S.Q.*, I, 264-266.
- A brief account of Pushkin's *Count Nulin*.
141. Gjødese, Rigmor. "Forholdet Kleist, Goethe, Shakespeare," *Edda* (Oslo), L, 1-38.
- Sh.'s influence on Kleist.
142. Godfrey, D. R. "The Player's Speech in *Hamlet*: A New Approach," *Neophilologus*, XXXIV, 162-169.
- Finds the speech closely integrated with the play, and vital to it. Emphasizes parallels between Hamlet and Pyrrhus, Claudius and Priam, Hecuba and the Queen. Argues that speech indicates Hamlet's conscious attempt to identify rant and action, at the same time that it also points up the failure of such an attempt.
143. Goldsmith, Ulrich K. "Words Out of a Hat? Alliteration and Assonance in Shakespeare's Sonnets," *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 33-48.
- Classifies and illustrates types of alliteration and assonance in the sonnets.
144. Granville-Barker, Harley. *Prefaces to Shakespeare. Fourth Series: Othello*. London, 1947.
- Rev. by S. Gorley Putt in *English Studies*, XXXI, 143-144.
145. Gray, Cecil G. "Shakespeare's Lost Years," *John o' London's Weekly*, LIX, April 28, pp. 249-250.
- Argues that Sh. "spent some years prior to 1592 at Eyton-on-Severn, in Shropshire, at the home of Lady Margaret Newport and her daughter, Magdalen Herbert." Further argues that Sh. was introduced to "the Herbert circle" by Fulke Greville.
146. Gray, H. David, and Percy Simpson. "Shakespeare or Heminge? A Rejoinder and a Surrejoinder," *M.L.R.*, XLV, 148-152.
- A restatement by Gray of his theory that Aesop in *The Poetaster* stands for Sh., and a restatement by Simpson of the argument against Sh. and for Heminge.

147. Gray, H. D. "The Wooing of Nerissa," *T.L.S.*, Feb. 3, p. 73.  
 Argues against the reading of *M. of V.*, III. ii. 199, suggested by R. Flatter in *T.L.S.*, Dec. 9, 1949.  
 Comment by J. Dover Wilson, Feb. 17, p. 105. Reply by R. Flatter, Mar. 17, p. 169.
148. Greer, C. A. "The Date of *Richard II.*" *N. & Q.*, Sept. 16, pp. 402-404.  
 Argues for late 1596 or early 1597.
149. Greer, C. A. "More about the Revision Date of *Henry VI.*" *N. & Q.*, Mar. 18, p. 112.  
 Argues for a 1594 date for Sh.'s revision of the play.
150. Greene, D. J. "'Sooth' in Keats, Milton, Shakespeare, and Dr. Johnson," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 514-517.
151. Greg, W. W. "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *S.B.*, III, 19-36.  
 A discussion of fundamental problems of editing, with certain specific references to Sh.
152. Gunther, Alfred. *Der Junge Shakespeare: Sieben Unbekannte Jahre*. Zürich: Ex-Libris Verlag A. - G. Pp. 249.  
 An imaginative and largely conjectural attempt at reconstructing Sh.'s career from his coming to London, dated 1587, to 1594.
153. Harbage, Alfred. "Dating Shakespeare's Sonnets," *S.Q.*, I, 57-63.  
 An analysis of the evidence adduced by Dr. Leslie Hotson for a 1589 dating, as compared with other evidence for a 1603 dating.
154. Harding, Davis P. "Elizabethan Betrothals and Measure for Measure," *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 139-158.  
 Distinguishes between the legal and moral status of the Elizabethan *de praesenti* nuptial contract. Asserts, however, that an Elizabethan audience would not have been morally repelled by the "bed-trick" or the inconsistency in the actions of the Duke and Isabella.
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156. Haydn, Hiram. *The Counter-Renaissance*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xvii + 705.  
 A broad and detailed study of those aspects of sixteenth-century culture and thought representing "a radical anti-intellectual revolution." Shakespeare, and particularly *Hamlet* and *Lear*, studied as part of this movement (pp. 619-671).
157. Henriques, Alf. "Shakespeare and Denmark: 1900-1949," *S.S.*, III, 107-115.
158. Heppenstall, Rayner, and Michael Innes. *Three Tales of Hamlet*. London: Gollancz.  
 Three broadcast plays on the Hamlet story.  
 Rev. in *T.L.S.*, May 5, p. 278.
159. Herbert, T. Walter. "Shakespeare Announces a Ghost," *S.Q.*, I, 247-254.  
 Discusses various ways in which Sh. dramatically prepares for the entrance of a ghost in his plays.
160. Highet, Gilbert. *The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman Influences on Western Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. xxxviii + 763.  
 Includes a chapter, "Shakespeare's Classics," pp. 194-218, dealing with classical influences on Sh.
161. Hilleman, Felix. *Shakespeares Kleopatras*. Marburg: Phil. Fak. Univ. Marburg, 1945. Pp. 59.  
 Unpublished dissertation.
162. Hinman, Charlton. "Mark III: New Light on the Proof-Reading for the First Folio of Shakespeare," *S.B.*, III, 145-153.  
 Describes and discusses a new example of corrected proof for the First Folio.
163. Hodges, C. Walter. "Unworthy Scaffolds: A Theory for the Reconstruction of Elizabethan Playhouses," *S.S.*, III, 83-94.

- Argues that "the Shakespearian public stage had its origin in the common scaffold stage of the street theatres."
164. Hoeniger, F. David. "The Meaning of *The Winter's Tale*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XX, 11-26.
- The play as a symbolic treatment of "the life-death-life pattern of nature and of human existence."
165. Holmes, Martin. "A Heraldic Allusion in *Henry V*," *N. & Q.*, Aug. 5, p. 333.
166. Holzknicht, Karl J. *The Backgrounds of Shakespeare's Plays*. New York: American Book Company. Pp. x + 482.
- A Shakespeare handbook, covering the life, the social, dramatic, and theatrical background, and the plays. There are numerous illustrations, drawn mainly from Elizabethan sources.
167. Hoppe, Harry R. *The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet*. Cornell University Press, 1948.
- Rev. by Madeleine Doran in *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 113-114; by Charlton Hinman in *M.L.N.*, LXV, 66-68; by W. W. Greg in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 64-66; by G. I. Duthie in *M.L.R.*, XLV, 375-377.
168. Horne, Colin J. "Malone and Steevens," *N. & Q.*, p. 56.
- Cites a retort, probably by Steevens, to Boswell's praise of Malone's edition of Sh.
169. Hotson, Leslie. "Maypoles and Puritans," *S.Q.*, I, 205-207.
- Deals with conflict between Puritan and anti-Puritan factions in Stratford in 1619.
170. Hotson, Leslie. *Shakespeare's Sonnets Dated and Other Essays*. New York, 1949.
- Rev. by Edward Hubler in *S.Q.*, I, 78-83; in *T.L.S.*, Feb. 10, p. 88; by G. Lambin in *Les Langues Modernes*, Mars-Avril, 123; by Samuel C. Chew in *N. Y. Herald-Tribune Book Review*, Apr. 2.
- Comment by Hugh R. Williamson and Peter Leyland in *T.L.S.*, Feb. 17, p. 105; by F. E. Halliday, Feb. 24, p. 121; by John Sparrow, Mar. 3, p. 137; by Christopher Lloyd, Mar. 10, p. 153; by C. H. Hobday, Mar. 24, p. 185; by C. L. de Chambrun, Mar. 31, p. 201; by I. A. Shapiro, Apr. 21, p. 245; reply by Leslie Hotson, June 2, p. 348; comment by Arthur J. Perrett, June 16, p. 373; by Michael Lewis and Catherine W. Scotland, June 23, p. 389; by F. S. Boas, July 7, p. 421; by G. Wilson Knight, July 14, p. 437.
- Comment by S. B. Hemingway, Bennet Weaver, Martin Erlich in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Feb., 17-19.
171. Huhner, Max. *Shakespeare's Hamlet*. New York: Farrar, Straus. Pp. xi + 163.
- Hamlet's insanity feigned. H. not a coward, but "a man full of inertia." Fate as the determining force in the play.
172. Hutcheson, W. J. F. *Shakespeare's Other Anne*. London: Maclellan. Pp. 128, 13 plates.
173. Hyde, Mary C. *Playwriting for Elizabethans*. New York: 1949.
- Rev. by R. B. Sharpe in *M.L.R.*, XLV, 377-379.
174. Hyde, Mary C. "Katharine Hepburn's *As You Like It*," *S.Q.*, I, 55-56.
- A critical discussion of the production.
175. Jack, A. A. *Young Hamlet*. Aberdeen University Press. Pp. xxx + 176.
- Argues that Q1, in which Hamlet is only 19, represents Sh.'s first version of the play, and that in changing H.'s age to 30 in the "second" version, Sh. destroyed the basis of the play.
- Rev. in *T.L.S.*, June 30, p. 407; in *Durham Univ. Journal*, XLII (Dec.), 28-29.
176. Jackson, James L. "Shakespeare's Dog-and-Sugar Imagery and the Friendship Tradition," *S.Q.*, I, 260-263.

- Sh.'s "dog-fawning-sugar imagery" not a reflection of his own experience, but "made up of proverbial phrases and friendship materials."
177. Jaffé, Gerhard. "Shaws oppfatning av dramatisk dikt Kunst sammenlignet med Shakespeares," *Edda* (Oslo), I, 56-92.  
Rejects Shaw's criticism of Shakespeare, and supports the findings of German critics (Walzel, M. Klein) who have applied the methods of Wölfflin to an analysis of Sh.'s art.
178. Jones, Ernest. "The Death of Hamlet's Father," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, XXIX (1948), Part III (published Aug. 1949), 174-176.  
Briefly analyzes differences between the murder of Hamlet's father in the Saxo-Belleforest saga and in Sh.'s play. Finds element of homosexuality in the Sh. version of the murder.
179. Jones, Graham. "The Goose in *Lear*," *N. & Q.*, July 8, p. 295.  
Relates *Lear*, II. ii. 88, to *T. & C.*, V. x. 55.
180. Jones, H. W. "*The Tempest*, III. i. 13-17," *N. & Q.*, July 8, pp. 293-294.  
A suggested emendation.
181. Jordan, Hoover H. "Dramatic Illusion in *Othello*," *S.Q.*, I, 146-152.  
*Othello's* actions credible in terms of his idealism and intelligence, as well as in terms of stage illusion.
182. Jordan, Hoover H. "Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, III. i. 56-87," *Explicator*, VIII, No. 4 (February).  
H.'s soliloquy as an impersonal meditation on suicide.
183. Jorgensen, Paul A. "The Courtship Scene in *Henry V*," *M.L.Q.*, XI, 180-188.  
The scene based upon Elizabethan conventions of soldierly appearance and behavior. Suggests the influence of Barnabe Riche's *Farewell to Military Profession*.
184. Jorgensen, Paul A. "*Honesty* in *Othello*," *S.P.*, XLVII, 557-567.  
Iago as a knave posing as Honesty. Reflects widespread Elizabethan interest in "the honesty-knave problem."
185. Jorgensen, Paul A. "Military Rank in Shakespeare," *H.L.Q.*, XIV, 17-41.  
Surveys military characters in Sh. by rank, and argues for Sh.'s deliberate and generally effective use, in the treatment of these characters, of the qualities required of the various ranks by military handbooks of the period.
186. Jorgensen, Paul A. "My Name Is Pistol Call'd," *S.Q.*, I, 73-75.  
Pistol's name intended to suggest to audience characteristics of the Eliz. firearm.
187. Cancelled.
188. Joseph, Bertram L. "How the Elizabethans Acted Shakespeare," *The Listener*, XLIII, Jan. 5, 17-18.
189. Keen, Alan. "A Shakespearian Riddle," *T.L.S.*, Apr. 21, p. 252.  
Discusses a number of Shropshire families with which Sh. may have been connected in the 1580's.  
Comment by C. G. Gray, Apr. 28, p. 261; by Anthony R. Wagner and Gerard Slevin, May 5, p. 277; by R. F. Rattray, May 19, p. 309; by W. J. Hemp, June 2, p. 341; by Alan Keen, June 30, p. 405.
190. Knight, F. E. "How Did Shakespeare Know? An Essay to Suggest that Shakespeare Was a Sailor," *The Seafarer*, No. 67, July, pp. 60-62.
191. Knight, G. Wilson. *The Crown of Life*. London, 1948.  
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192. Kökeritz, Helge. "Punning Names in Shakespeare," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 240-243.  
Dr. Caius, Pistol, Mrs. Quickly, and Doll Tearsheet.
193. Kökeritz, Helge. "Shakespeare's Pronunciation: A Preliminary Survey," *Moderna Språk*, XLIII (1949), 149-168.

194. Koszul, A. "Some Notes on Shakespeare's Text," *English Studies*, XXXI, 215-217.  
Suggested emendations for *C. of E.*, III. i. 65; *1 Henry VI*, I. v. 29; and *All's Well*, II. i. 110.
195. Landauer, Gustav. *Shakespeare Dargestellt in Vorträgen*. Postdam: Rütten and Loening, 1948. I, 362; II, 386.
196. Law, Robert A. "Deviations from Holinshed in *Richard II*," The University of Texas *Studies in English*, XXIX, 91-101.  
Suggests that these deviations are generally introduced to develop character or strengthen motivation. Finds hypothesis of lost play between Holinshed and Sh. unnecessary.
197. Law, Robert A. "Holinshed's Leir Story and Shakespeare's," *S.P.*, XLVII, 42-50.  
Holinshed's account of Leir effectively told, but is not the source of Sh.'s play, which differs from it in significant details.
198. Lawlor, J. J. "The Tragic Conflict in *Hamlet*," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 97-113.  
The cause of Hamlet's delay not known to himself, but apprehended by the Eliz. audience as "a scruple about the justice of Revenge." Hamlet, failing to understand himself, questions all things.
199. Le Comte, Edward S. "The Ending of *Hamlet* as a Farewell to Essex," *ELH*, XVII, 87-114.  
Argues first, in detail, that *Hamlet* is "a memorial to Essex"; then presents the arguments against such a theory.
200. Leech, Clifford. "The 'Meaning' of *Measure for Measure*," *S.S.*, III, 66-73.  
Argues against simplified interpretation of the play as a statement of Christian doctrine.
201. Leech, Clifford. *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth Century Drama*. London: Chatto and Windus. Pp. vii + 232.  
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Rev. in *T.L.S.*, Nov. 17, p. 724; in *Durham Univ. Journal*, XLIII (Dec.), 30-31.
202. Lees, F. N. "A Biblical Connotation in *Macbeth*," *N. & Q.*, Dec. 9, p. 534.  
A phrase of Duncan's always associated in the Bible with God.
203. Lees, F. N. "*Coriolanus*, Aristotle, and Bacon," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 114-135.  
Finds that *Coriolanus* "contains blood, bone, and sinew descended from the *Politics*," probably in the English translation of 1598. Also finds, in Bacon's essay *Of Friendship*, influence both of Aristotle and of Sh.'s play.
204. Leon, Harry J. "Classical Sources for the Garden Scene in *Richard II*," *P.Q.*, XXIX, 65-70.  
Cites passages from Livy, Ovid, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Notker Balbulus' *Gesta Karoli Magni*.
205. Levin, Harry. "An Explication of the Player's Speech: *Hamlet*, II. ii. 472-541," *Kenyon Review*, XII, 273-296.  
The authenticity and rhetorical and dramatic effectiveness of the speech defended and expounded. Hamlet's soliloquy which follows the speech seen as its mirror-image.
206. Lewis, C. S. "Text Corruptions," *T.L.S.*, Mar. 3, p. 137.  
Parodies J. Dover Wilson's method, in his edition of *T. G. of V.*, of proving the presence of an adapter through "verse" lines printed as prose.  
Comment by J. Dover Wilson, Mar. 10, p. 153.
207. Long, John H. "Shakespeare and Thomas Morley," *M.L.N.*, LXV, 17-22.  
Argues that Sh. was indebted to Thomas Morley, esp. for musical gamut in *T. of S.*

- Comment by Louis Marder, LXV, 501-503; by John R. Moore, LXV, 504-505.
208. MacKaye, Percy. *The Mystery of Hamlet, King of Denmark*. . . . New York: Bond Wheelwright Co. Pp. xvii + 69 + 710.  
A "tetralogy with prelude and postlude." A series of plays dealing with King Hamlet and the Danish court before the period at which Sh.'s play begins.
209. Madariaga, Salvador de. *On Hamlet*. London, 1948.  
Rev. by André Koszul in *Les Langues Modernes*, Nov., p. 422.
210. Mann, Isabel R. "The Garrick Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon," *S.Q.*, I, 129-134.  
Sh. Jubilee of 1769 described.
211. Marder, Louis. "Shakespeare's Lincolnshire Bagpipe," *N. & Q.*, Sept. 2, pp. 383-385.  
Discusses the meaning of the phrase in *1 Henry IV*, I. ii. 86.
212. Marsh, Louis V. "Jean-Louis Barrault's Hamlet," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXXVI, 360-364.
213. Mason, E. C. "Satire on Woman and Sex in Elizabethan Tragedy," *English Studies*, XXXI, 1-10.  
Finds "disgust with sex and bitterness against women" an extremely important element in Eliz. tragedy from 1600 on, particularly in the plays of Sh.
214. Maxwell, J. C. "Creon and Angelo: A Parallel Study," *Greece & Rome*, XVII (1949), 32-36.
215. Maxwell, J. C. "2 *Henry IV*, Epilogue 30," *N. & Q.*, July 22, p. 314.  
Defends Q reading, "Martyre" without the article.
216. Maxwell, J. C. "*King John*—Textual Notes," *N. & Q.*, Oct. 28, pp. 473-474.  
III. iv. 1-3; II. iv. 44; III. iv. 170-172; IV. ii. 30-31; IV. iii. 123-129.
217. Maxwell, J. C. "Notes on *King John*," *N. & Q.*, Feb. 18, pp. 75-76.  
II. i. 143-144; II. i. 584; III. i. 196; V. vii. 15-17.
218. Maxwell, J. C. "Peele and Shakespeare: A Stylometric Test," *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 557-561.  
A specific grammatical construction, common in Peele and uncommon in Sh., used as a guide to attribution of authorship.
219. Maxwell, J. C. "The Technique of Invocation in *King Lear*," *M.L.R.*, XLV, 142-147.  
Sh.'s use of direct invocation in the play as contributing to the questioning of the meaning of the universe which is a dominant element in the play.
220. McLaren, Moray. "*By Me . . .*" London, 1949.  
Rev. by André Koszul in *Les Langues Modernes*, Mars-Avril, pp. 122-123.
221. McManaway, James G. "Additional Prompt-Books of Shakespeare from the Smock Alley Theatre," *M.L.R.*, XLV, 64-65.  
A copy of the Third Folio used as a prompt-book. Adds information on the vogue of Sh. in Dublin in the seventeenth century.
222. McManaway, J. G., G. E. Dawson, and E. E. Willoughby (ed.). *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*. Washington, D. C., 1948.  
Rev. by Leonard F. Dean in *M.L.Q.*, XI, 362-363; by J. I. M. Stewart in *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 260-262.
223. McManaway, James G. "Where Are Shakespeare's Manuscripts?" *The New Colophon*, II, 357-369.
224. Meyers, Walter L. "Shakespeare's *Hamlet*," *Explicator*, IX, No. 2 (November).  
Comments briefly on absence in H.'s soliloquy (III. i. 56-87) of any reference to his encounter with the ghost of his father.



225. Miller, E. H. "Shakespeare in the Grand Style," *S.Q.*, I, 243-246.  
Discusses Brattle Theatre productions of *T. & C.*, *T. N.*, and *Lear*.
226. Mincoff, Marco. "The Structural Pattern of Shakespeare's Tragedies," *S.S.*, III, 58-65.  
Finds in Sh.'s tragedies, esp. in *Hamlet*, a triangular pattern, with a definite apex of intensity in the middle.
227. Moerkerken, P. H. van. *Achter het Mombakkes*. Amsterdam: G. A. van Oorschot. Pp. 154.  
Ascribes the authorship of Sh.'s works to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Largely based on J. T. Looney, *Shakespeare Identified*, 1920.
228. Moore, Olin H. *The Legend of Romeo and Juliet*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. Pp. 9 + 167.  
A detailed discussion of the development of the Romeo and Juliet story up to Sh. Argues that Sh. not only used Brooke but "had access, directly or indirectly, to the original Italian version of Luigi da Porto."
229. Muir, Kenneth, and John Danby. "Arcadia and *King Lear*," *N. & Q.*, Feb. 4, pp. 49-51.  
Points out several similarities between the two works not previously noted.
230. Muir, Kenneth. "A Test for Shakespearean Variants," *N. & Q.*, Nov. 25, pp. 513-514.  
Suggests that in choosing between variants, editors of Sh. should be guided by the appearance or non-appearance of a variant in other parts of the play.
231. Muir, Kenneth. "The Uncomic Pun," *Cambridge Journal*, III, 472-485.  
Discusses the serious puns in Sh., with special reference to *Macbeth*, and finds that they contribute greatly to the dramatic and poetic effect of the plays.
232. Nathan, Norman. "Shylock, Jacob, and God's Judgment," *S.Q.*, I, 255-259.  
Shylock, identifying himself with Jacob, expects to get the pound of flesh through God's help. When God fails him, he deserts his religion.
233. Norman, C. H. "Shakespeare and the Law," *T.L.S.*, June 30, p. 412.  
Coincidence in some details between two Eliz. law cases and *Hamlet* used to cast doubt on the authorship of the plays by "Shakespeare, the actor."  
Comment by Donald Somervell, July 21, p. 453; reply by C. H. Norman, Aug. 4, p. 485.
234. Nosworthy, J. M. "Hamlet and the Player Who Could Not Keep Counsel," *S.S.*, III, 74-82.  
The pirate responsible for Q1 was an actor who played, successively, Marcellus, Lucianus, and an Attendant Lord.
235. Olive, W. J. "Davenport's Debt to Shakespeare in *The City-Night-Cap*," *J.E.G.P.*, XLIX, 333-344.  
Finds the play chiefly indebted to *M. for M.*, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *W. T.*
236. Olive, W. J. "Imitation of Shakespeare in Middleton's *The Family of Love*," *P.Q.*, XXIX, 75-78.  
*R. and J.* and 1 *Henry IV* "plundered by Middleton."
237. Olive, W. J. "Twenty Good Nights"—*The Knight of the Burning Pestle, The Family of Love, and Romeo and Juliet*," *S.P.*, XLVII, 182-189.  
Restates the case for the burlesquing of *R. and J.* and other of Sh.'s works in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.
238. Parkes, H. B. "Nature's Diverse Laws: The Double Vision of the Elizabethans," *Sewanee Review*, LVIII, 402-418.  
Examines the conflict between traditional moral and religious attitudes and the new naturalistic attitudes, in late Eliz. and Jacobean literature, with numerous references to the plays of Sh.



239. Parrott, T. M. "Further Observations on *Titus Andronicus*," *S.Q.*, I, 22-29.  
Discusses "Peacham" illustration in light of recent observations by John Munro, J. Dover Wilson, and Arthur J. Perrett.
240. Parrott, T. M. *Shakespearean Comedy*. New York, 1949. Rev. in *T.L.S.*, Mar. 10, p. 154.
241. Parsons, Howard. "Further Emendations in *The Tempest*," *N. & Q.*, Feb. 18, pp. 74-75.  
IV. i. 60; IV. i. 118.  
Comment by J. B. Whitmore, Apr. 29, p. 195. Reply by Howard Parsons, June 10, p. 261. Further comment by Howard Parsons, Aug. 19, p. 369.
242. Parsons, Howard. "*Hamlet*, I. i. 60-63," *N. & Q.*, Feb. 18, pp. 85-86. Defends the reading "Polacks" for "Pollax."
243. Parsons, Howard. "Shakespeare and the Scholars," *N. & Q.*, June 24, pp. 283-284.  
Argues against contention of Abraham Feldman (*N. & Q.*, CXIV, 556) that Chettle's apology for Greene's *Groat's worth of Wit* was not meant for Sh.  
Comment by J. C. Maxwell, Aug. 5, p. 349, supporting Feldman's argument.  
Further comment by Howard Parsons, Dec. 23, pp. 569-570.
244. Parsons, Howard. "*The Tempest*: Further Emendations," *N. & Q.*, July 8, pp. 294-295.  
IV. i. 179; V. i. 34.
245. Partridge, A. C. *The Problem of Henry VIII Reopened*. Cambridge: 1949.  
Rev. in *T.L.S.*, Jan. 13, p. 23.
246. Paul, Henry N. *The Royal Play of Macbeth: When, Why, and How It Was Written by Shakespeare*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 438.  
Argues that the play was specifically created for James I and his court, and reflects his preoccupations and interests.
247. Peery, William. "Shakespeare and Nathan Field," *Neophilologus*, XXXIV, 238-245.  
Finds insufficient evidence for theory that Field knew Sh. personally or acted in Sh.'s company during lifetime of Sh. The plays of Field, however, directly influenced by the work of Sh.
248. Pettet, E. C. "*Coriolanus* and the Midlands Insurrection of 1607," *S.S.*, III, 34-42.  
Sh.'s changes in the play from his source in Plutarch "the natural reactions of a man of substance to a recent mob rising in his country."
249. Pettet, E. C. "The Imagery of *Romeo and Juliet*," *English*, VIII, 121-126.  
The star-image, the pilot-image, images of strife and contradiction, and the light-darkness symbolism of the play discussed.
250. Pettet, E. C. *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition*. London: 1949.  
Rev. in *T.L.S.*, Apr. 28, p. 258.
251. Pettet, E. C. "Shakespeare's Conception of Poetry," *Essays and Studies*, New Series, Vol. III (ed. by G. R. Hamilton). London: John Murray. Pp. 29-46.
252. Pogson, Beryl. *In the East My Pleasure Lies: An Esoteric Interpretation of Some Plays of Shakespeare*. London: Stuart and Richards.
253. Pope, Elizabeth M. "Shakespeare on Hell," *S.Q.*, I, 162-164.  
Claudio's speech in *M. for M.* (III. i. 119-127) a dramatic use of older literal tradition of Hell. "Lawless and incertain thought" not a sceptical phrase but a warning against over-literal view of Hell.  
Comment by T. W. Baldwin, I, 296.
254. Price, Lawrence M. "Shakespeare as Pictured by Voltaire, Goethe, and Oeser," *Germanic Review*, XXV, 83-84.  
The curtain painted by Oeser for the new theater in Leipzig (ca. 1776)

- pictorializes attitude toward Sh. expressed many years earlier by Voltaire.
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265. Renner, Ida. *Der Ordnungsgedanke bei Shakespeare mit besonderem Hinblick auf King Lear*. Phil. ü naturwiss. Fak. der Univ. Münster, 1948. Pp. 114.  
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270. Sargent, Ralph M. "Sir Thomas Elyot and the Integrity of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*," *PMLA*, LXV, 1166-1180.  
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276. Schwarz, Alfred. "Otto Ludwig's Shakespearean Criticism," *Perspectives of Criticism* (ed. by Harry Levin), Harvard University Press, pp. 85-101.
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279. Shaaber, M. A. "Shylock's Name," *N. & Q.*, May 27, p. 236.  
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280. "Shakespeare's Deposition in the Belott Mountjoy Suit," *S.S.*, III, 13.
281. Shapiro, I. A. "The 'Mermaid Club,'" *M.L.R.*, XLV, 6-18.  
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282. Sharpe, Ella M. "An Unfinished Paper on *Hamlet*," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, XXIX (1948), Part II (published May 1949), 98-109.  
"Five children were born to Mary Shakespeare between William's third and sixteenth years and . . . Hamlet's behavior (i.e., his deliberate procrastination and final purgation) embodies the three-year-old's intense reactions to the first of these pregnancies and births."

284. Sherwood, John C. "Dryden and the Rules: The Preface to *Troilus and Cressida*," *Comparative Literature*, II, 73-83.  
Discusses Dryden's criticism of Sh. in the Preface to his adaptation of *T. and C.* Finds that Dryden applies standards of French neoclassical critics to Sh. "not only to expose his faults but to emphasize his virtues."
285. Shield, H. A. "Links with Shakespeare. V," *N. & Q.*, Mar. 18, pp. 114-115.  
Discusses Thomas Flower, a witness at the Belott-Mountjoy hearing, and Joan Flower and her two daughters, the "Witches of Belvoir."
286. Shield, H. A. "Links with Shakespeare. VI," *N. & Q.*, May 13, pp. 205-206.  
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287. Shield, H. A. "Links with Shakespeare. VII," *N. & Q.*, Sept. 2, pp. 385-386.  
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288. Siegel, Paul N. "Leontes a Jealous Tyrant," *R.E.S.*, New Series, I, 302-307.  
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289. Siegel, Paul N. "Shakespeare's *King Henry IV*, Part II," *Explicator*, IX, No. 2 (November).  
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290. Simpson, Lucie. *The Secondary Heroes of Shakespeare. And Other Essays.* Kingswood Press.
291. Sitwell, Edith. "*King Lear*," *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 57-62.  
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292. Sitwell, Edith. "*Macbeth*," *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 43-48.  
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293. Sitwell, Edith. *A Notebook on William Shakespeare.* London: 1948.  
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294. Smidt, Kristian. "Notes on *Hamlet*," *English Studies*, XXXI, 136-141.  
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297. Smith, Robert M. "Interpretations of *Measure for Measure*," *S.Q.*, I, 208-218.  
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298. Smith, Warren. "New Light on Stage Directions in Shakespeare," *S.P.*, XLVII, 173-181.  
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299. Stauffer, Donald A. *Shakespeare's World of Images*. New York: 1949.  
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## QUERIES AND NOTES

In this issue, *Shakespeare Quarterly* starts a section devoted to the exchange of information by members of the Shakespeare Association of America. Communications should relate more or less directly to the study of Shakespeare, and they should be brief. *Shakespeare Quarterly* will not undertake to publish every item received, and it must reserve the right to edit those accepted in the interest of conserving space. The section is not intended for controversial purposes.



### OLDEST SHAKESPEARE CLUB?

*Sir:* In the *Shakespeare Quarterly* for January 1951, "Notes and Comments" asks, "What is the name of the first Shakespeare club to be formed in the United States? Is it still active? If not, what club can claim to being the oldest?"

In reply let me state that the Shakespere Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1851. It was incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania in 1861 and has been in continuous active operation ever since its founding. It is planning to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary next year and in connection with that celebration will express the belief that it is not only the oldest Shakespeare Society in the United States, but the oldest in the world.

The old Shakespeare Society of London was founded by John Payne Collier in 1840 but went out of existence in 1853. The new Shakespere Society of London was not started until 1873. It was an entirely different organization. The Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft was founded about 1864. It seems best for the Philadelphia Society to assert its claim in your pages so that opportunity may be given for anyone having different information to state any other relevant facts. Therefore, the Philadelphia Society will be obliged to you if you will publish this at your discretion.

HENRY N. PAUL

*Philadelphia, Pa.*



### SHAKESPEARE MEDALS AND COINS

*Sir:* Numismatic commemorative and other material relating to Shakespeare and his works is, somewhat surprisingly, not abundant. For some time past it has been my pleasure to form a collection of such material as exists, most of which naturally stems from the country of the poet's birth. It will interest your readers perhaps to know that to-date I have only come across two items relating to Shakespeare originating in this country—one, a bronze plaquette by a lady artist, and the other, a white-metal medal bearing on an anniversary performance on the stage in Baltimore.

There surely must be others, and I shall be greatly indebted to your readers and to the members of Shakespeare groups if they will furnish me with particulars of any further material known to them, and if they will lead me even to sources where there will be some prospect of its being obtained.

L. McCORMICK-GOODHART

*Alexandria, Va.*



# OUTER, INNER, OR UPPER STAGE?

Sir: Dr. John C. Adams—in his excellent essay on "That Virtuous Fabrick"—has probably said the last and definite word on the construction of the Globe theater. There is one point, however, that calls for some elucidation. The query does not touch the structure of the edifice, but concerns the use to which the three main stages (front stage, study and balcony) may have been put by Shakespeare himself and to which they may have to be put again should the old dream come true and a new Globe theater be erected.

At the end of chapters IV and V, Dr. Adams states that "in the plays written between 1599 and 1610 Shakespeare mounts 43% of all his scenes on the outer stage alone . . . almost 20% are intended for the study alone, and 10% for the upper stage alone." The positiveness of these assertions seems puzzling and one wonders how Dr. Adams has come by those figures.

To which category, e.g., does he assign the scene of "To be or not to be . . ."? I have suggested that Hamlet and, later, Ophelia are on the front stage while the King and Polonius watch them from the balcony, the curtains of which are not quite closed. Were they hiding below, i.e., behind the curtains of the study, why, one must ask, should Hamlet in his savage mood ("Where's your father?") refrain from simply thrusting the arras aside, thus exposing the eavesdroppers? When he has gone and Ophelia has spoken her soliloquy ("O what a noble mind . . ."), she leaves (actually there is in Quarto 2 an "Exit" for her) and, 16 lines later, joins Claudius and her father on the balcony, the latter greeting her with: "How now, Ophelia? You need not tell us. . . ." Thus, when Hamlet and the players enter for the next scene, the front stage has for some time been empty. Or, to take another instance: in my conception Desdemona's bed stands on the balcony, where both IV. iii and the last scene are played. When Lodovico, pointing to the "tragic loading of this bed," gives the order "Let it be hid," one of the curtains is drawn at once, the other a few minutes later when the play is over. Or I have suggested that in II.iii.170 Othello, roused from bed (and later joined by Desdemona), does not enter below, but appears on the balcony, from where he shouts down, gives judgement on Cassio, and retires again.

I am conscious of course that these and many of the other suggestions I have made elsewhere may be wrong, and I have referred to three of them, chosen at random, only to indicate that about the staging of Shakespeare's plays as we may surmise it was done at the Globe, definiteness or unanimity can hardly be hoped for. It seems all the more desirable to learn how Dr. Adams has worked out those figures. Scholars and theatrical people alike would be grateful should he assent to giving a short account of his means and methods.

RICHARD FLATTER

Vineland, New Jersey

—O—

## "FAT" (*HAMLET*, V.ii. 298)

Sir: "He's fat, and scant of breath," says the Queen; "Here, Hamlet, take my napkin, rub thy brows." Why should Hamlet be called "fat"? The *New Variorum* (1877) records three explanations: 1) Hamlet *was* fat, in Shake-

speare's intention; 2) not Hamlet, but the actor who first played the part, was fat—which is really perhaps an amplification of 1); 3) *fat* is a compositor's error for some other word.

A fourth explanation, that *fat* means "sweating," has since been proposed and more or less defended by G. A. Bieber (*Der Melancholikertypus Shakespeares und sein Ursprung, Anglistische Arbeiten*, III (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 69), F. Gundolf (*Shakespeare in deutscher Sprache*, IX (1914), quoted by Schaubert, *infra*; (1921), V, 250), M. P. Tilley (*JEGP*, XXIV (1925), 315-319), W. H. Dunn (*TLS*, May 26, 1927, p. 375), E. v. Schaubert (*Anglia*, LII (1928), 93-96), and J. Dover Wilson (Cambridge *Hamlet* (1936), p. 255); but none of these writers has brought forward a contemporary passage clearly establishing the use of the adjective *fat* with this meaning. Such a passage I now think I have stumbled upon, in Richard Johnson's *Seven Champions of Christendom* (London, 1608, STC 14679, Folger Library copy, ch. 6, p. 52). St. Anthony of Italy is fighting the giant Blanderon, and we read: "the sweat of the Gyants browes ran into his eyes, and by the reason that hee was so extreame fatte, he grew blinde, that he could not see to endure Combat with him any longer."

ARTHUR DICKSON

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## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### CZECH TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

O. F. Babler announces (in *Notes and Queries*, 3 Feb. 1951) that his translation of *King Lear*, made in 1948, is to be performed soon at the Municipal Theatre, Olomouc, and will shortly appear in print.

*Lear* was the third Shakespearian play to be translated by a Czech. Prokop Frantisek Sedivy was the translator. His MS, which may never have been performed and was not printed, is in the National Museum at Prague. It was prepared in 1792. Six years earlier, K. H. Thám had translated *Macbeth*, and in 1791 Josef Jakub Tander had translated *Hamlet*. Other translations are *Lear* by Josef Kajetán Tye, first performed in Prague in 1835 but not published; *Lear* again in 1856, by Ladislau Celakovsky and published; *Macbeth*, by Josef Jorí Kolár and performed in 1839; and thirty-three plays translated by Josef V. Sládek between 1894 and 1921. In 1927, Bohumil Stepanek produced a translation of *Lear* which was published in 1927 and performed in 1929.



### "WHAT'S IN A NAME?"

A reader of *Shakespeare Quarterly* supplies the information that the present trainmaster of the Rutland Railroad is Mr. W. Shakespeare.



### SHAKESPEARE HERALDRY

Readers of Professor Henry L. Savage's excellent review in October *SQ* of *Shakespeare's Heraldry* by C. W. Scott-Giles will be gratified to learn that the book may now be obtained from the American distributors, E. P. Dutton & Co., for six dollars. They will also be interested in the fact that Mr. Scott-Giles's *Romance of Heraldry*, which Professor Savage cited with approval, was reissued in March 1951, priced at three dollars and seventy-five cents.



### THE STRATFORD-UPON-AVON SEASON

The special contribution of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre to the Festival of Britain will be a cycle of four Histories—*Richard II*, 1 and 2 *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*—and *The Tempest*. *Richard II* was presented on the opening night, March 24. The season will continue 31 weeks. Once the four histories are in the repertory, they will be given in chronological order, and where a character appears in more than one he will be played by the same actor throughout.

The company includes Michael Redgrave, Anthony Quayle, Richard Burton (seen on Broadway in *The Lady's Not for Burning*), Harry Andrews, Hugh Griffith, Rosalind Atkinson, Heather Stannard, Barbara Jefford, and Hazel Penwarden. The Histories are under the production of Anthony Quayle, assisted by Michael Redgrave and John Kidd. *The Tempest*, which will have its first night on June 26, is to be produced by Michael Benthall.

An immense amount of research has been devoted to the scenery and costumes for the History plays. The Theatre has been redecorated and equipped with 150 additional seats, and there is an electronic switchboard for stage lighting.

Every visitor in Stratford treasures the memories of performances seen in the Memorial Theatre. This year in particular, when Stratford expects over 350,000 people from all over the world, it will be hopeless to get tickets unless reservations are arranged weeks or months in advance.



### SHAKESPEARE IN CROATIA

The *Yugoslav Fortnightly* supplies information about the publication of an edition of the complete works of Shakespeare in Croatian by the Matica Hrvatska, oldest publishing house in Croatia. The new Shakespeare, under the editorship of Dr. Josip Torbarina, Professor of English at Zagreb University, will be based on the earlier translations of Milan Bogdanovich.

The earliest known Croatian translation of Shakespeare, a fragment of *Romeo and Juliet*, by Ivan Krizmanich in 1836, was never published but survives in manuscript. *Julius Caesar* was the first play to be printed in Croatian, about 1860. Since then, the leading poets, Shenoa, Harambashich, Voinovich, and Vladimir Nazor, have all produced translations. The most active translators have been Dr. V. Krishkovich, with 29 plays, and Milan Bogdanovich, whose 17 translations are frequently used on the stage. Although 90 different translations have been recorded, several of Shakespeare's works are still untranslated into Croatian.

Seven volumes of the new edition have appeared: *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; and *Hamlet*, though published like the others in an edition of 10,000 copies, has already been sold out.



### HALL'S CROFT

Hall's Croft, the home of Shakespeare's elder daughter, Susanna, and her husband, Dr. John Hall, was purchased in the autumn of 1949 by the Trustees and Guardians of Shakespeare's Birthplace. It was the last building with Shakespearian associations in Stratford-upon-Avon still remaining in private ownership. An excellent example of a spacious Tudor town house, with some seventeenth-century and later additions, Hall's Croft was basically in sound condition, but the Trustees found that owing to neglect and some ill-advised improvements a substantial amount of repairs and restoration would be necessary.

The purpose of the Trust was not only to preserve the property for the enjoyment of the public, as in the case of the Birthplace, New Place, Anne Hathaway's Cottage, and Mary Arden's House, but to use it as a Shakespeare Centre for exhibitions, period settings, concerts, recitals, and the like. A substantial part of the work of restoration is expected to be complete by April 1951.

The total cost of purchase, restoration, and furnishing Hall's Croft is estimated at £45,000, of which the Trustees have offered to advance £12,000, the

purchase price of the property. To raise the remainder, £33,000, His Worship, the Mayor of Stratford, has issued an appeal on behalf of the Birthplace Trustees. It should be remembered that Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust has no endowment fund or substantial liquid reserves; it receives no grant from the national or the local government. Its income, derived mainly from admission fees paid by visitors to the historic buildings it administers, is, under present conditions, barely sufficient to meet expenses. A scheme involving heavy capital expenditure such as the Hall's Croft project can only be met with financial assistance from outside.

Contributions to this worthy project may be addressed to His Worship the Mayor of Stratford-upon-Avon, Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon, England.



### SHAKESPEARE IN FRISIAN

The Frisian Information Bureau, whose address is 1017 Alto Venue S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan, is receiving subscriptions to an edition of Shakespeare's complete works in Frisian: *Fryske Shakespeare Stifting*. Each year until 1957, one durably bound volume will be issued, containing five or six plays. The translators are not named.



### NEW VARIORUM SHAKESPEARE

Two more volumes of the New Variorum Shakespeare (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott) are in the hands of the printer: *Troilus and Cressida*, edited largely by Professor H. N. Hillebrand and completed and seen through the press by Professor T. W. Baldwin, both of the University of Illinois; and *Richard II*, by Professor M. W. Black of the University of Pennsylvania. The General Editor, Professor Hyder E. Rollins of Harvard, is himself the special editor of *The Sonnets* (2 vols.) and *The Poems*. The other two titles that have been issued under the sponsorship of the Modern Language Association are *1 Henry IV*, edited by Professor S. B. Hemingway of Yale, and *2 Henry IV*, edited by Professor M. A. Shaaber of Pennsylvania. Half-a-dozen other plays are in process of being edited.



*The England of Elizabeth*, as the first volume of Mr. A. L. Rowse's new work is entitled, is a book that is not likely to fall into the hands of literary students, but it has some acute observations about Elizabethan Englishmen well worth the reading by their descendants on both sides of the Atlantic and some good Shakespeare criticism. For example:

The Elizabethan Age is not something dead and apart from us; it is alive and all round us and within us. . . . The English people in our time have been through a crisis of their fate to which the nearest parallel is that they passed through in the Elizabethan Age. Only ours was a nearer thing, and even more depended on it. . . . What is to our purpose is to note how, in the moment of greatest danger, when all might so easily have been lost and the country gone down for ever to destruction, people turned for in-

spiration to that earlier hour, and were renewed and went on. . . . There is no doubt about the fact, when Londoners in the tense hours of 1940, awaiting the issue of the Battle of Britain, thronged to hear Queen Elizabeth's Golden Speech to the Commons in 1601 recited by our most admired living actress; when the chief box-office draw throughout the war, the one dramatist that never failed to hold the stage was a Warwickshire man who made a successful career in London over three centuries ago; when on the famous morning of 6 June 1944 a company commander, as his landing craft approached the coast of Normandy, read Henry V's speech before Agincourt to his men; when people at home held their breath and felt that not to be there was, in his phrase, not to be there on Crispin's day (pp. 1-2).

Or again:

. . . The most absorptive and sensitive of instruments, he [Shakespeare] sensed all or most of what there was in the time, revealing hidden depths hitherto unexplored. He did not indeed express all that was latent: religion, for example, had little or no appeal for him; in that like the sceptical Montaigne. The truth and fidelity of his recording lay in his very naturalness. He trusted his instinct. If he had wanted to impose some intellectual construction of his own upon that upheaved world of crowded experience his people were living through (what an inspiration to a writer it must have been!), like Marlowe or Spenser or Jonson or Donne, he would thereby have limited himself. By not doing so, he has escaped limitation; his influence is therefore illimitable, is coterminous with the life of the people he expressed and goes on continuously with it. Therein lies the miracle (p. 22).

But even Mr. Rowse can nod:

Camden was sabotaged by the supernatural authority of Holy Scripture: the Britons must be descended from Gomer, one of the sons of Japhet, the son of Noah. The Ark of the Covenant was a mare's nest for most Renaissance scholars. After Camden extricates the Britons from that, all goes well (p. 58).

In Sunday school, the teacher used to tell (Exodus 25.10) that the Ark of the Covenant was made of shittim wood, "two cubits and a half the length thereof, and a cubit and a half the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof," and in the Ark rested only the testimony of the Lord. As for the Ark of Noah, a more commodious structure, "the length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits" (Genesis 6.15). Between the two Arks, according to Bishop Ussher, was an interval of at least 857 years. Perhaps Mr. Rowse, too, has been sabotaged.



#### NATIONAL SHAKESPEARE GARDENS

Readers of *Shakespeare Quarterly* may readily have missed the recent notice of the passing of Mrs. K. E. B. Blood of New York City, the founder of the National Shakespeare Gardens in Potomac Park, Washington, D. C. Mrs. Blood



enlisted the cooperation of official representatives of 35 or more states in the planting of a tree or some other appropriate plant on Shakespeare's Birthday. In 1937, for example, 11 states joined with her in the tree planting. During the heavy floods of the Potomac in the winter of 1933-1934, the small plants and many of the young trees were destroyed. Then in 1947 began the relocation of the approaches to Highway Bridge, which leads south into Virginia, which put an end to the Rose Gardens and also the National Shakespeare Gardens. Several of the trees were too large to survive transplanting, but from information courteously supplied by Mr. August H. Hanson of the National Capital Parks it has been learned that the English oak and the American elm which Mrs. Blood had herself planted at the entrance to the Gardens, and also 9 trees placed there by 8 states, were removed to the spacious grounds of the National Cathedral.

The Cathedral Close contained already a Shakespeare Garden, located in the Cottage Herb Garden conducted by All Hallows Guild. According to the description by Miss Elisabeth Ellicott Poe (in *The Cathedral Age*, Spring 1937, 39-44), herbs and plants that are mentioned by Shakespeare are arranged in four little garden plots. Markers and signs name the plants and list the appropriate quotations from the plays and poems.



#### SHAKESPEARE IN SINGAPORE

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Singapore, a non-academic performance of *Hamlet* will be given there next year in sarong, baju, and turban. The actors will assume Malay dress and speak the Malay language of the sixteenth century. The accompanying music will be by the Indonesian Gamelan Orchestra.

## SHAKESPEARE ON THE UNIVERSITY STAGE

It is the custom of many academic theatrical groups to produce at least one Shakespeare play each year. *Advance notice* will be welcomed by *Shakespeare Quarterly*, so that readers in the vicinity of such productions may take advantage of the opportunities thus afforded. Notices of the following productions have been received:

In November 1950, *Macbeth*, by the JOHNS HOPKINS PLAYSHOP, Baltimore, Maryland, under the direction of James Byrd. A startling innovation was to present the witches as embodiments of the good, the evil, and the insane aspects of Lady Macbeth's character. An illustrated account may be found in the *Johns Hopkins Magazine* (December 1950, pp. 9-15, 31-32).

From February 22 to 27, 1951, *Hamlet*, by the AMHERST COLLEGE MASQUERS, Amherst, Massachusetts, under the direction of Mr. Curtis Canfield. The performance was based on the First Folio text and was given in Elizabethan style.

From March 9 to 19, 1951, *Othello*, by the DEPARTMENT OF SPEECH AND DRAMA AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, Washington, D. C., under the direction of Mr. Alan Schneider.

From April 2 to 7, 1951, *Macbeth*, at the UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, College Park, Maryland.

From May 14 to 19, 1951, *Twelfth Night*, at AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D. C.

Communications about revivals of Shakespeare's plays should be sent to Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, 61 Broadway, New York City.

## SHAKESPEARE CLUBS AND STUDY GROUPS

There has been a welcome response to the invitation in January *SQ* to supply information about Shakespeare clubs and study groups. In another place (see p. 170) will be found the reply of the SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA over the signature of Mr. Henry N. Paul. Mr. Paul retired as dean of the Society at the beginning of the current season. He retired from the chair only; in his eighty-seventh year, he still attends meetings regularly and brings the experience of sixty years' study of Shakespeare to the society's discussions. The vigor of his mind is amply demonstrated in the book he published last fall, *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (which will shortly be reviewed in *SQ*). To succeed Mr. Paul, the society has elected Mr. Edgar Scott, the president of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange. He is also the author of a book on the current lists, *How to Lay a Nest Egg* (not to be reviewed shortly in *SQ*!).

According to the program of the SHAKESPEARE CLASS OF SMITHFIELD, VIRGINIA, the officers for 1950-1951 are Mrs. P. D. Gwaltney, III, President; Mrs. W. H. Chapman, Vice President; Mrs. J. M. Batten, Secretary-Treasurer; Mrs. Charles E. Davis, Publicity Chairman; and Mrs. John I. Cofer, Jr., Member-at-large. The programs consist of readings from the plays, reviews of current productions, and lectures. The Class was organized in 1905.

Three years younger, is the SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF MUSKOGEE, OKLAHOMA, founded in 1908. The Year Book reveals that almost every work of Shakespeare except *Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis*, has been studied at least once. *Lear* and *Macbeth* have been prime favorites. Among the officers are Mrs. J. H. Finley, President; Mrs. Claud Frix, First Vice President; Mrs. Flynn Ball, Second Vice President; Mrs. Fred Lynch, Corresponding Secretary; and Mrs. Lon Holcomb, Treasurer. The Year Book gives the text of the constitution and by-laws.

The SHAKESPEARE STUDY CLUB OF TAMPA, FLORIDA, organized in 1946, attempts to insure cohesion and singleness of purpose by limiting membership to 30. Each year three plays, a comedy, a history and a tragedy, are studied seriously and systematically, but the program is not unbalanced, for the semi-monthly meetings at 10:15 are followed by luncheon and a social period. The President is Mrs. F. S. Metzger; other officers include Mrs. Carl D. Brorein, Vice President; Mrs. Robert Probasco, Secretary; Mrs. Ray Botti, Treasurer; and Mrs. Marcus Alexander, Advisory Chairman.

The SCHUYLKILL STUDENTS SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY, OF POTTSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA, organized in September 1875, is the oldest women's club in the state federation of women's clubs. The program issued to commemorate the Society's seventy-fifth birthday reveals how adventurously the study of the plays may be supplemented by a consideration of related topics: the London of Shakespeare; social background of the age; the sea rovers; ghosts, criminals, and fools, etc. President, Mrs. J. Stratton Porter; Vice President, Mrs. T. K. Leininger; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Harrison Moore; Treasurer, Miss Mary M. Dechert. The Society is collecting a library.

The eventful history of the DALLAS SHAKESPEARE CLUB was told in the *Daily Times Herald* of November 26, 1950. It was founded in 1886, the second wo-

man's club in Texas, with Miss May Dickson, soon to become Mrs. Henry Exall, as president. She continued to lead the Club vigorously for 52 years, and after her decease the members could hardly bring themselves to confer that title on her successor. Though chiefly a literary organization, the Club contributes actively to charities and engages in civic affairs of a cultural nature; it has a growing endowment fund, the proceeds of which are awarded as a scholarship. In the handsome year book, the following are among the officers listed for 1950-1951: President, Mrs. Robert M. Hall; Vice President, Mrs. H. G. Goggans; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Sheridan A. Thompson; and Treasurer, Mrs. H. B. Thomson.

Other clubs which are known to be active but about which details are wanting include: ELKLAND (Pennsylvania) SHAKESPEARE CLUB, Miss Eleanor Donavan, President; SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF THE BOSTON BAR ASSOCIATION, Mr. Albert West, President; NEW ORLEANS SHAKESPEARE CLUB, Mr. E. A. Parsons, President; WACO SHAKESPEARE CLUB, Mrs. L. B. Gorin, Secretary; SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF HUNTER COLLEGE, Miss Elizabeth P. Stein, President; the ANNE HUDGINS SHAKESPEARE CLASS OF MARIETTA, GEORGIA, Mrs. W. H. Perkinson, Leader.

From Mr. T. L. Peries, President of the Shakespeare Society of Ceylon comes a request that Shakespeare clubs in other countries write to him at 22, Palmyrah Avenue, Colombo—3, Ceylon. He is eager to exchange publications, year books, study programs, and the like, for mutual benefit.

Mr. Levi Fox, Director of Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon, is engaged in compiling an index of Shakespeare societies and clubs at present in existence throughout the world. He will be most grateful for information that is sent him.

## CONTRIBUTORS

PROFESSOR MURRAY W. BUNDY has for many years been Professor of English at State College, Pullman, Washington. His book, *The Theory of Imagination*, is well known, as are his articles in the learned journals relating to Shakespeare and Milton.

PROFESSOR ORHAN BURIAN, of Ankara University, appears in this issue as author and also as collaborator in the Shakespeare Bibliography. Educated in England, he is the translator of several of Shakespeare's plays into Turkish and is enthusiastically associated with Mr. Muhsin Ertugrul, General Director of the Ankara State Theatre, in making Shakespeare a living part of Turkish literature and drama.

PROFESSOR OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL of Columbia University is best known to Shakespearians for his two books, *Comicall Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida* and *Shakespeare's Satire*. He is a stalwart practitioner of the historical approach to scholarship. On the eve of his official retirement at Columbia he published last year *The Living Shakespeare: Twenty-Two Plays & The Sonnets*. His out-of-town friends, who play truant from sessions of the Modern Language Association to enjoy such New York plays as they can buy tickets to, envy him the opportunities afforded him to see everything that is good as a member of the Committee to select Pulitzer Prize Plays.

PROFESSOR ALBERT HOWARD CARTER, Head of the English Department at the University of Arkansas, held a Research Fellowship at the Folger Shakespeare Library and then served in Army Intelligence during World War II. At Arkansas he has taken a prominent part in furthering the collection and study of the folklore of the state.

A. H. R. FAIRCHILD, Emeritus Professor of English, University of Missouri, and former chairman of the department, is now living at 527 Forward Street, La Jolla, California. He is the author of *Shakespeare and the Arts of Design*, *Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme*, and various articles on Shakespeare.

WILLARD FARNHAM, Professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley, is serving this year as Visiting Professor at Harvard. His current volume, *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier*, reviewed in *Shakespeare Quarterly* in October, 1950, takes place alongside his earlier *Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy*, for years a landmark in Elizabethan Studies.

DR. LESLIE HOTSON's first book, *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, established him as the foremost literary detective in this generation. Specializing in documentary research, he has been rewarded with the discovery of a writ of attachment, issued in 1596 upon the petition of William Wayte, who craved sureties of the peace against William Shakespeare and others. His other Shakespearian gleanings are too numerous to list. At present he is again haunting the Public Record Office, Somerset House, and the other English repositories of manuscripts.

EDWIN R. HUNTER, Dean of Curriculum of Maryville College, divides his loyalty between Geoffrey Chaucer and William Shakespeare. He admits

contributing to a number of learned journals but says nothing of a book of unpublished verse which should be lurking somewhere.

ROBERT ADGER LAW, Emeritus Professor of English, University of Texas, has been for many years a regular contributor to the learned journals. His studies in the sources of Shakespeare's History plays and in the origins of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear* have won special recognition.

PROFESSOR VERE E. C. MANDERS, of St. Bernard's School, 4 East 98th Street, New York City, represents an institution that has marked indelibly the characters of the boys who have enjoyed its tutelage. He has been headmaster of the Junior School for thirty-nine years and stage manager of every play produced publicly by the Upper School.

PROFESSOR ALLARDYCE NICOLL, of The University of Birmingham, England, has had a brilliant and prolific academic career in England and America. From the University of London, he came to Yale, only to return to England after a decade. His many publications on Shakespeare and English drama have long been standard works. *Shakespeare Survey*, of which he is editor, is a favorite of lay Shakespearians as well as an essential reference work for scholars.

DAVID LYALL PATRICK, Dean of the Graduate College, University of Arizona, won lasting fame with the publication of *The Textual History of Richard III*, a study of the origin of the quarto text and of its relation to the folio.

PROFESSOR VIRGIL K. WHITAKER, of Stanford University, is the author of numerous articles relating to his specialties, Shakespeare and the interrelations of Renaissance science and literature.





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